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REPUBLIC

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September 15, 1941

Shooting Without War

Editorial

Donald Nelson Takes Over . . *Michael Straight*

Guerrilla Warfare, Russian Style . *R. Saavedra*

Britain's Jim Crow War . . . . . *Albert Viton*

Their Heart Belongs to Dada . . . *Stark Young*

Scientists in Uniform: America
by Bruce Bliven

FIFTEEN CENTS

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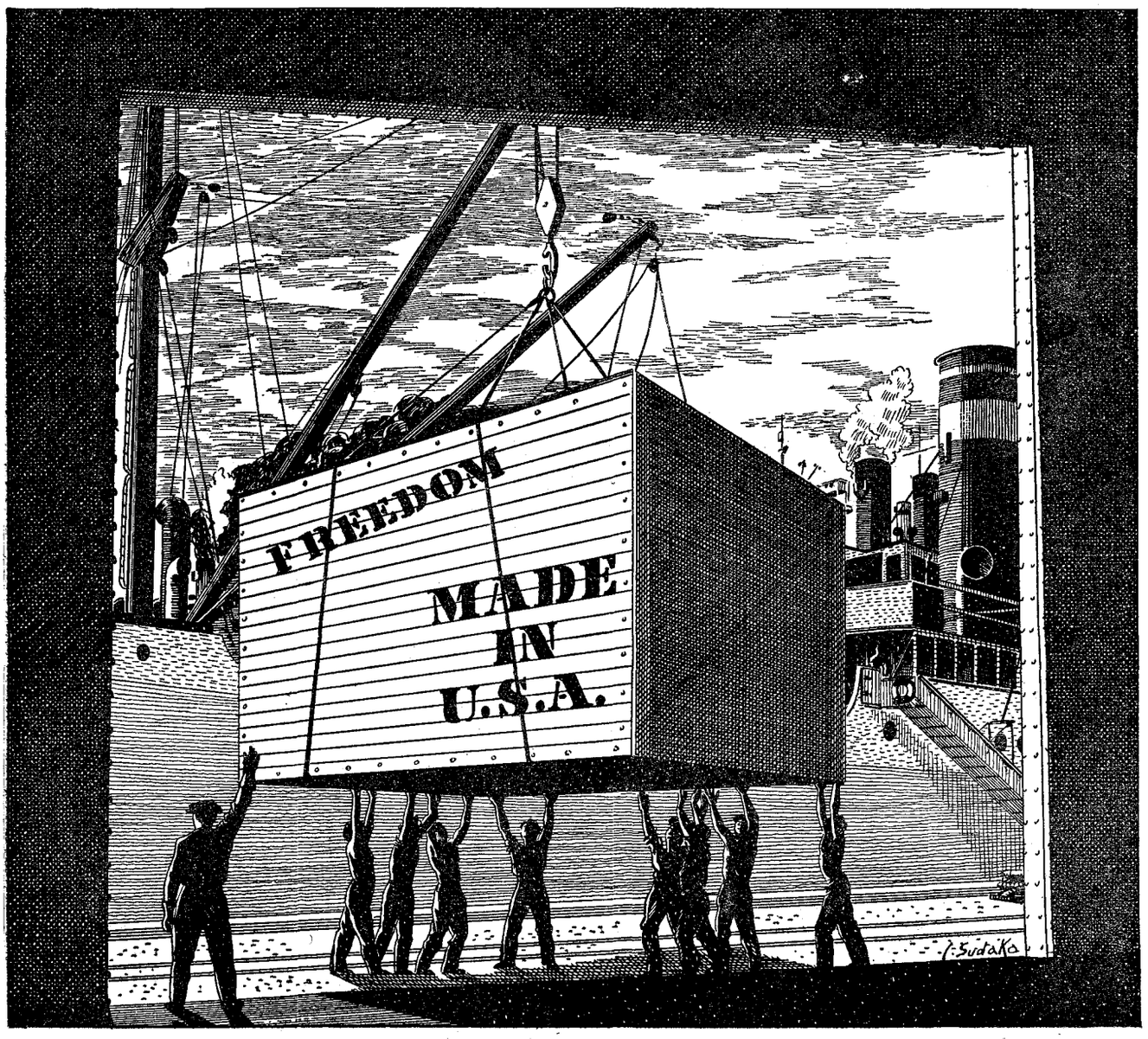

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Stay Tough With Japan

It pays to get tough, and stay tough, with Japan. When American tankers with oil for Russia first started across the Pacific, the Japanese raised a terrific uproar. They insisted that they could not permit these tankers to reach their destination. The United States did not back down by a quarter of an inch, and the result is that several ships have now arrived at Vladivostok without interference. The erstwhile appeasers in the State Department should be blushing, provided a State Department appeaser has enough intelligence to blush.

Evidently the Japanese are badly frightened and have begun to feel that they may have bet on the wrong horse. Of this there can be no doubt; there is ample and solid evidence that Hitler, after he has finished off the Anglo-Saxon world, intends to destroy Japan. For the Mikado's subjects to help him is about as sensible as it would be for a missionary to help the cannibals gather sticks to heat the pot.

We hope our government will not only stay tough with Japan, but get tougher. She should be given her choice between an immediate, complete blockade and making peace with her neighbors, which involves giving up all the territory she has seized. If she is good, she should be promised the utmost economic coöperation; if she is bad, she should be promised economic strangulation.

No Railroad Strike Yet

People unversed in the technique of collective bargaining and wage adjustment under the Railway Labor Act may be too greatly alarmed by the news that the railroad unions have voted to strike for a wage increase. This is really only one step, and not the last one, in a procedure outlined by the law. First the unions present their demands, and the employers negotiate with them. If no agreement is reached, mediation attempts to gain a settlement. If it does not, nothing further can be done unless the unions threaten to strike, and it is certified that mediation has failed. In that case, the unions must wait ninety days while a commission appointed by the President investigates the dispute and publishes findings. It is expected that the report will lay bare the issues for the public in such a fair way that a peaceful settlement will then be facilitated. Neither side is legally compelled to accept the findings. If either, however, does force a stoppage of transportation by refusal to accept the commission's verdict, it will assume a very heavy burden of proof.

Let us wait for the outcome before we become jittery about the possibility of an interruption of transportation. And let us at least read the forthcoming report, with its recommendations and reasons, before making up our minds whether in this case it is the managements or the unions which are threatening national defense.

Still a Bad Tax Bill

The tax bill as it came from the Senate was better than when it passed the House. But Senator La Follette—who long has been a far-sighted advocate of tax reforms—was right in objecting to a lowering of the exemptions in the income tax as long as these are not accompanied by a lightening of the excise and sales taxes which bear most heavily on the low incomes, and by real taxation of excess war profits. Certainly the

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income-tax base should be broadened, but only to facilitate more close adjustment to ability to pay, rather than less.

The New Republic's objection to the proposal to enforce compulsory joint returns for married couples does not extend to the provision defeated by the Senate to prevent the splitting of incomes for tax-dodging purposes, in the states with community-property laws. This amendment should have been passed.

Congress could do the national morale no greater injury than to permit war profits to soar without adequate taxation—as this bill does—while increasing heavily the burden on small and medium incomes—as must be done. Nor could the munitions makers lay up more trouble for themselves in a chaotic post-war world than to accept this windfall. We shall not be alone in reminding the tax-laden public from time to time how much murder the war babies are getting away with.

They Prefer Hitler to Roosevelt

If anyone doubted that the America First Committee represents the most reactionary elements in the United States he should hasten to read its recent advertisement entitled, "Get Ready for the New Order in the U. S." This appeal for funds stuffs up the pet bogeymen of the business opponents of the New Deal, by means of which they have tried to defeat the administration in every controversy for the past ten years. Scare capitals emphasize—"TAXES, DEBT, SPENDING, REGIMENTATION." Business, it says, "intimidated by war-makers," is committing suicide by aiding defense. After the war the government will spend, not three billion, but twelve billion a year. "The government will fix every price, will decide every man's production, do every man's planning, will take every man's profit in taxes." That sounds exactly like the utility holding companies and the Liberty Leaguers in their worst days.

Everybody knows that these very things are what Nazism imposes on business both at home and in conquered nations. What the advertisement really says, therefore, is that it is futile to oppose Hitler, because if we organize to defeat him, we shall have a fascism of our own. "The New Order" is the very name Hitler uses to describe his regime. More subtle and poisonous defeatism is unimaginable.

This advertisement constitutes solemn warning to those great majorities which have benefited from and have supported the New Deal—the farmers, the industrial workers, the unemployed—that they had better rise up and smash the America First Committee if they don't want the dark forces to sell out their country. It is proof that the anti-interventionists either would let Hitler subdue us, or, if that is impossible, would try to go back to the old order of unemployment without relief, discrimination against agriculture, union-smashing and unchecked monopoly profits.

1854-1941

On September 21, 1854, when Sara Delano, mother of the thirty-second President of the United States, was born in Newburgh, New York, Franklin Pierce, the fourteenth President, was arranging a treaty with Japan, which was entering upon commercial relationships with Westerners for the first time in history. In the United States, the era of Andrew Jackson had closed, the era of the "irrepressible conflict" had begun. In Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln was working on a great four-hour speech, to be delivered in a few weeks in the course of his debate with Stephen A. Douglas. The speech dealt with the question of slavery in the Territory of Nebraska.

There were about 20,000 miles of railroad tracks in America. The first public message had been sent over the telegraph only ten years before. Smoke from the chimneys of the industrial revolution was curling over factory towns along the northern seaboard, but no man foresaw the size and strength of the genie which those stacks were to release. Sara Delano Roosevelt's years spanned an epoch in which that power transformed a world. On the day of her death, another new world was struggling toward birth. If the power and the responsibility of shaping it in a form that would make it fit for human living could be said to lie in the hands of any one man, they were in the hands of her son. For the fact that his character was such that most men in the world who wanted freedom looked toward him with hope, she herself was greatly responsible.

It Goes On

A few weeks ago Franco made a speech in which he practically kicked the United States in the face. Probably most people assumed that this meant the end of the State Department's attempt to appease him; but if so, they were wrong. It is now learned that what the United Press describes as "large quantities of petroleum products" are going to Franco in an effort by this country to bribe him not to go to war on Hitler's side. The State Department says it is sure that none of this oil goes to Germany.

Our comment is: 1. We don't believe sending oil to Spain will postpone for one day Franco's entrance into the war. He is a puppet of Hitler, and must finally do what his master tells him. 2. By helping the Fascist regime in Spain, we nullify much of our pro-democratic efforts in Latin America. 3. You can't compartment the Fascist economy and say that our oil to Franco doesn't help Hitler. Whatever helps one Fascist helps them all, indirectly if not directly. And anyhow, we strongly doubt that the State Department has the energy and shrewdness really to find out the facts. 4. In summary, the Department is trying once again the policy that has already failed with Italy, with Japan and Vichy France. It will fail with Spain. Instead of giving Franco oil to

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stay neutral, how about withholding oil until he does something actively to help the democratic cause?

Many Americans are bewildered to see our foreign policy conducted, over a period of years, along such pro-Fascist, anti-democratic lines, and ask why it is. There are many reasons, but one in our judgment stands out. It is that the State Department is staffed predominantly by men whose antecedents are those of wealth and aristocracy, most of whom never have been and are not now in touch with the currents of our native American democracy. A wit phrased it neatly when he said: "Something is Groton in the State Department."

Welcome, Fascist

To get past the watchdogs of the Visa Division of the State Department of the United States easily, it seems to be necessary only for an alien to have good fascist connections. The latest piece of evidence of this comradely spirit in the Department is provided by the news, unearthed by The New York Herald Tribune, that Armand Gregoire, one of the founders of the French fascist party, has slipped into this country and is "studying law" in New York City. Before the war, Mr. Gregoire was a fellow member of the Société France-Allemagne with Otto Abetz, now Hitler's proconsul in France. That was the organization that worked for an "understanding" between France and the Nazis. After the debacle, he was one of the few who were permitted to move freely between occupied and unoccupied France. He went to Germany on January 21, 1941. Three weeks later he had a visa for entry into the United States. On the same boat with him, there slid into the United States one Edouard Pfeiffer. In 1939 Pfeiffer was charged in the House of Deputies with handing over French military secrets to Abetz.

An article in the current issue of Harper's, "I Married an American," tells of the thorny road one Canadian woman, who was merely a respectable wife of an American, and no friend of Herr Abetz, had to travel in order to get across the border. "I had to pay one thousand dollars for lawyers' fees, traveling expenses, telephones, telegrams [and an infinitude of other items] to enter the United States legally when I had already lived eight years as the wife of an American citizen." European anti-fascists are no longer permitted to come in at all.

The head of our Visa Division is Avra Warren. How strong must the odor that leaks out from his office get before someone in Washington with power to clean house notices it? Americans are gagging on it.

Mr. Carey and the Communists

James B. Carey, one of the ablest men in the CIO and its national secretary, has been defeated for reëlection as president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. His defeat was partly, but not entirely, on the Communist issue; Mr. Carey has been a vigorous foe of the Stalinists, and wanted the organization to exclude from positions of influence communists, Nazis and other persons who repudiate democracy. The left wing voted against Mr. Carey, but reports say that he was also opposed by some moderates who consider his work with the national organization does not give him enough time for the affairs of the electrical workers themselves. A substitute resolution was adopted which would expel individuals guilty of acts against the nation or the union. The new president professes to be just as anti-Communist as Mr. Carey, but he feels that no man should be penalized for beliefs unaccompanied by any improper action.

As an abstract principle this is certainly sound, although it is hard to say just how completely it can be applied to the Communists, who invariably work and vote as a unit on all matters and are not individually subject to the appeals to common sense and personal fairness that are supposed to be important motives in our democratic society. In any case, the removal of Mr. Carey from his position is highly regrettable. The insincerity of his Communist opposition is revealed by the fact that, contrary to the resolution adopted, it maneuvered him out of his office for no other reason than his political opinions. Certainly, he should have been retained because of his loyal and efficient service to his union and his country.

Is It the Wrong Man?

It is unhappily true that in a national emergency like the present, civil rights are often impaired and sometimes gravely endangered. One of the points at which they suffer most is in the procedure of the criminal courts, and it is of great importance that this procedure should be on a sound basis. It happens that last year Congress authorized the Supreme Court to revise and codify the rules of procedure in federal criminal cases. The Court appointed a committee and its secretary. As in all these instances, the secretary will be of great importance. It seems to us regrettable that this secretary is Alexander Holtzoff. It is true that he is an Assistant Attorney General, in the legal and legislative unit of the Department of Justice. But he is also legal adviser to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has so often been under fire in the past for procedures of doubtful legality or of a definitely anti-democratic trend.

Mr. Holtzoff on a good many occasions has seemed eager to whitewash the FBI and its head, J. Edgar Hoover. Some of his sweeping public statements seem to be denied by the record. Details of a number of such instances appear in The Congressional Record for May 23, 1941. Mr. Holtzoff says, for example, that the FBI

> never illegally detains a prisoner. . . . Does not deny the right of counsel. . . . Treats prisoners with every possible

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consideration. . . . Does not resort to third degree or any oppressive tactics or illegal incarceration. . . . Does not deny any defendant's rights while in its custody.

The facts, too voluminous to be quoted here, appear to run to the contrary in the Bernava case, the Detroit Spanish recruiting case, Davis v. U. S., and Cofer v. U. S. Mr. Holtzoff praises Mr. Hoover's reticence, in spite of his eighteen magazine articles in two recent years. He has defended wire-tapping despite the 1934 law against it and the 1937 decision of the Supreme Court upholding this law. Mr. Holtzoff's past history in this connection became public, it should be said, only after his appointment as secretary to the committee.

Chief Justice Stone during his long career in Washington has often acted to bring the FBI into consonance with democratic principles. It seems to us he should carefully scrutinize the actions of Secretary Holtzoff.

Hollywood Fights

Two plain facts to remember when the subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee begins to spread front-page headlines in its "investigation of charges" that Hollywood and the radio "are being used as instruments of propaganda to get the United States into this war": 1. The investigation was not ordered by a vote of the Senate. It was engineered, through political finagling, on a resolution by Senator Wheeler. 2. The subcommittee was appointed by Senator Wheeler and is shamelessly packed. Of its five members, four Senators—D. Worth Clark of Idaho, Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, Homer Bone of Washington and C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois—are fervid isolationists.

Hollywood has made pictures which attempted to portray some of the hideousness of the Nazi creed and the scope of its ambitions and to show that they endanger us. The purpose of the Wheeler attack is to frighten Hollywood into silence. A more flagrant attempt at censorship would be hard to imagine. It would likewise stretch the imagination to think of a kindlier act toward Hitler. Hollywood, thank God, is going to fight. Wendell Willkie has been retained as counsel for the moving-picture industry and has told Senator Clark that in these pictures Hollywood has spoken from conviction, that it is not friendly toward Nazi Germany, that it abhors everything Hitler represents and that it intends to battle for its right to say so. It is a battle in which every decent American is with Hollywood.

The Case of Captain Ramsay

A striking editorial appeared the other day in The (London) Economist, summing up the case against the Tory political machine by discussing the case of Captain Ramsay, M. P. This gentleman has been "detained" in Brixton jail since last summer under the Emergency Powers Act. The New York Times reported that the Captain had supplied information to the enemy, and was sued by him for libel. Captain Ramsay won his suit, to the tune of one farthing damages, but during the proceedings there emerged "facts of the greatest political interest." The Captain was revealed as the founder of a club which included in its membership William Joyce, now Lord Haw-Haw, Tyler Kent, clerk of the American Embassy, now in jail for stealing official papers, and Anna Wolkoff, now serving a ten-year stretch. The club register was kept in Kent's rooms because, Ramsay explained, the Jews were less likely to get at it there. Club literature included poems in which Hitler was presented as Germany's "savior and guide."

The Economist's interest in Ramsay is concerned less with his pro-Nazi views than with his mental qualifications as an M. P. They ask how such a blundering person ever reached the House and supply their own answer: "He is M. P. for Peebles because he came of the right sort of family, because he married a daughter of the peerage and the widow of a very rich man, because he went to the right school and joined the right regiment. If his father had been a bank clerk and his wife the daughter of an insurance agent, if he had been educated at the local grammar school, gone with a scholarship to Oxford and made his way by his own brains—the odds against his getting into the House would have been 1,000 to 1." And his story, says The Economist, is far from unusual. Many other "tenth-rate nonentities" have been used as packing material in the Tory policies of the thirties, "and there is a long score to settle with the men who put Captain Ramsay and the like into Parliament." A long score it is and one which should never arise again if The Economist's frank words can be acted upon in the post-war years.

France Underground

In France the wave of terror goes on. Increasing the roll of hostages, the German military in Paris have arrested scores of Jews, two former parliamentarians among them. Executions of reputed Communists continue. The Germans are trying to give the impression that the growing wave of rebellion is a Jewish-Communist plot, but the underground movement gives every sign of being democratic and liberal, backed by some of the former leaders in parliament, the trade unions and coöperative societies.

Its danger to the Germans and their pawns in Vichy is obvious. Sabotage has mounted in Paris, Lille and Lorraine. Frenchmen have helped direct the RAF to military targets. The underground movement, if it becomes strong enough in France, may well spread to French Africa. There is already evidence of unrest in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, unrest that holds much promise for the Allied cause.

The movement deserves the help of the anti-Nazi world. Nothing would help so much as for Washington to sever ties with Vichy and recognize General de Gaulle as the leader of democratic France. Such action

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is long overdue. Its need is pressing now with the word that Hitler plans for the fall a "Conference of United Europe," in which Vichy will certainly take part. By encouraging the cause of democratic resistance in France Washington would strengthen the hand of all those who are determined that there shall be no "United Europe" under Hitler's auspices.

Aid to China—and Ourselves

An American navy transport is soon due to leave the Chinese port of Chinwangtao for this country. When the vessel sails it is hoped she will have aboard a group of Chinese-language teachers from Peking who have been chosen to form the faculty of the proposed College of Chinese Studies at the University of California. The State Department has arranged passage for the teachers on the transport, but a financial barrier remains to be leveled. The proposed college cannot be established unless $90,000 is raised for the first three years of operation. American missionary boards have given half the amount. The rest must come from another source.

That source might well be the Lease-Lend Act. The language teachers could give expert instruction to army, navy and diplomatic officers. Fluent in a number of dialects, they could also render service at the Asiatic short-wave listening post being set up at Portland, Oregon. They could play a large part in arranging American short-wave programs for Chinese listeners. All this work would seem to come under the heading of aid to China and of national defense, and the use of $45,000 in Lease-Lend funds would surely be warranted.

Last Week

The small town of Garrison, New York, which sent Judge Robert P. Patterson to the office of Assistant Secretary of War, has produced another citizen deserving of national fame. Samuel S. Duryee, a lawyer, a Democrat, a former candidate for State Assembly on the Democratic ticket, is suing to have his name taken off the ballot as candidate for County Judge, Surrogate and Children's Court Judge. He says the present judge is a good one and should have the job again. The corridors of New York courthouses are clogged with men fighting to get their names on ballots these days, but surely a lane of lawyers standing at stunned attention will open for Mr. Duryee as he marches to the bench to say that when he said he wouldn't run he meant it. . . . What did Senator Nye mean when he said in Trenton, referring to the German attack on the Greer, that it "arose from the policy of all-out aid to Britain which the federal government has elected to follow"? It is a sad spectacle to watch Senator Nye, an able man, who actually does know that the policy of all-out aid to Britain was ratified at a national election in 1940 and has been ratified several times since by formal vote of the representatives of the people, just talking. . . . The sentence of the week that best deserves immortality was published in the German newspaper Zwölf Uhr Blatt: "Who is this Franklin D. Roosevelt who dares doubt an official German declaration?"

Shooting Without War

A GERMAN SUBMARINE fired two torpedoes at the United States destroyer Greer, on her way to Iceland with mail. The torpedoes missed their mark. The Greer dropped depth bombs in an attempt to eliminate her enemy, but the results were not known. Subsequently a thorough search for the U-boat was made by the navy. Since, however, the German government has presented a report of the affair, it may be guessed that the submarine escaped to a home port. German submarines do not use their radios at sea.

A freighter under the American flag was attacked and sunk by a warplane of unannounced nationality in the Red Sea. At the moment of writing, no more than this is known about the incident.

Much technical discussion of the Greer case has occurred. Were the torpedoes deliberately misaimed? That suggestion has been unofficially advanced. Or was the Greer mistaken for a British vessel? Apparently not, for the attack took place in daylight, under conditions of good visibility. The Greer differed from British destroyers in the height of her funnels, in her war paint, in the arrangement of her guns and other details. She was west of the line that marks the limit of the American patrol.

The Nazi government has made no claim of mistaken identity. It has, however, been careful to furnish propaganda ammunition to its isolationist allies in this country by asserting that the Greer fired first and that the whole affair represents a trick by President Roosevelt to get this country into a war which Germany does not want. With that clear lead, the Wheelers, Lindberghs and other America Firsters are doubtless expected to carry on Goebbels' work for him.

The great masses of Americans who are not affiliated with special propaganda groups seem to be agitated by nothing but an imperturbable calm about these technical questions. While it was of vital importance to the men and officers of the Greer that the torpedoes did not find their mark, to the country it seems irrelevant that the issue of war or peace should depend on any such accident. Even if the submarine had mistaken the nationality of her target, the basic facts would have been little changed. Nor is there breathless concern over the question who fired first.

The country knows that if war is on the cards, incidents will lead up to it, and that if one incident does not supply a *casus belli*, another one will. It knows that if both parties want to avoid war, incidents will be patched up. It knows that American vessels are operat-

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ing in zones in the North Atlantic and the Red Sea which Hitler has claimed as his own, and that Hitler has openly threatened to sink anything that comes within range of his torpedo tubes. It is not much startled by news of shooting. What it really wants to know is whether we shall become engaged in a shooting war, or shall merely engage in a little shooting without war.

So far, the choice has been deliberately left up to Hitler. We have presented him with the political and military initiative. We have, in effect, said to Hitler: "We are determined to make and ship necessary supplies to your enemies. We have promised to make sure that they get there, but as yet we are merely helping to see them part way across the ocean. Beyond this, we will do nothing to defeat you. If and when you think it desirable to stop the supplies by force, west of an imaginary line in the North Atlantic (though not east of it), we may shoot back. If you do not think this worth while, we may do nothing more. The choice is yours. You can pick your own time."

This proposition offers Hitler a wide latitude in which to consult his interests. Eventually he intends to subjugate the United States, but he does not wish to tackle that job until after he has disposed of Russia and Britain. He is not ready yet to invade even Britain. But he is worried about the supplies we are sending and wants to stop them, without forcing us into the war. How best can he go about that?

One way is to intensify his submarine and air warfare in the zone about the British Isles which we have forbidden our ships to enter. This he undoubtedly intends to do as fall brings longer nights and a new flock of submarines becomes ready. And for that it is essential to him that we do not extend our sea lines farther, repeal the Neutrality Act or go in for actual convoy. Another way is to increase the opposition in this country to aid to Britain, by connecting it more closely with the opposition to all-out war.

Incidents like that of the Greer admirably serve this double purpose. They emphasize the threat of war while disclaiming any provocation. Hitler wants to see just how far he can go. He is enabled to make such tests with relative safety because of the opposition to war in this country. At the same time, he wants to present the non-interventionists with more material with which to frighten us and so to extend the limit of his safe aggression. We shall presently see them attempting to do so. Upon their apparent strength depends Hitler's decision to send more torpedoes fuming toward more American ships, and so to strengthen his blockade of Britain without an all-out war with us.

Shooting without war is exactly what he now desires—especially if he can blame the President for the shooting. The only way to take the initiative from him, and to defeat him before he is ready for us, is to turn the tables by declaring a shooting war.

Dies Is At It Again

MARTIN DIES is at it again. In an open letter to Roosevelt he has attacked Leon Henderson and four members of the staff of OPACS as being Communists or Communist sympathizers. Dies spoke, as usual, in his capacity as chairman of the House Committee on un-American activities, but as usual, the other members of the committee appear to know nothing of what he was doing and, in more than one case, strongly disapprove of the action.

Leon Henderson's reply blows Dies out of the water for any American with the slightest sense of fairness. He hardly needed to deny that he himself follows the Communist Party line in any particular, or ever has. The Communist Party once followed his line, when all good democrats favored aid to the Spanish Republic. As for his employees, he points out the legal situation. The Smith law, passed in 1939, excludes from federal employment persons who are or have been members of the Communist Party. Every government worker must be investigated. In the case of OPACS, this is done by the Treasury Intelligence Service. It reports to the Civil Service Commission, which takes action when action is required. Not one such recommendation has been made regarding any of OPACS' 900 employees.

Dies lacks almost every qualification for a good public servant, but he has a wonderful sense of timing. For years he has been working to destroy President Roosevelt politically, and to sabotage the New Deal. Repeatedly he has issued his statements at a moment when they were calculated to do maximum harm. Why did he try to hit the front pages on a Monday morning just now? We believe it is because a bill is pending in Congress to control inflation, and Henderson would administer its provisions. There are powerful business interests in this country who don't want prices controlled, and would like to see Henderson end his effective fight against their monopolistic practices.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, STARK YOUNG; *Washington Editor:* MICHAEL STRAIGHT; *Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE; *Assistant Editors:* NIGEL DENNIS, BYRON DEXTER, OTIS FERGUSON, ELIZABETH HULING; *Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, JULIAN HUXLEY, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, R. G. TUGWELL; *Advertising Manager:* E. G. WOOD

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Donald Nelson Takes Over

In its first statement and its attack upon the hoarding of defense materials, the Supply, Priorities and Allocations Board has made a strong start. Is it no more than "a faltering step forward"? In structure, certainly, it resembles principally a return to the best-forgotten NDAC. Yet the gap has been closed between the overburdened President and the directors of the OPM, who have been so reluctant to accept their responsibilities; already the effect can be sensed in the smallest commodity sections of the OPM. Moreover, in the ascension of Donald Nelson, who is executive director of the new board, a really able man has been found. If the criticism is made that the board fails to give final authority to one man, it must be remembered that this issue is meaningless unless a man is available; today the only man capable of making final decisions is the President himself.

One clear gain of the reorganization is the transference of the commodity sections of the OPM dealing with raw materials to William L. Batt. Through the earlier reorganization of the OPM, these sections were placed under Stettinius, but for the main part of the OPM's life the responsibility for obtaining an adequate flow of raw materials belonged to John D. Biggers. To say that Biggers failed completely in what he was supposed to do would be to flatter his intentions. In Batt, the responsibility has at last been given to one who will fully discharge it. It is to be regretted only that he has not been given the more important Division of Production. W. K. Harrison, its head, has not in the past shown himself adequate to this job.

More important than the creation of the Materials Division is the reconstruction through the SPAB of the priorities system, which with Stettinius suffered an almost total breakdown. Under the priorities system, purchases of strategic items placed on the priorities list was controlled by the issuance of three main types of preference ratings. The determination of the most important of these—the preference ratings for army and navy contracts—was delegated by Stettinius to the procurement officers of the army and navy. For some time it has been known that the army and navy have been demanding very much larger quantities of materials than they can use and have insisted upon deliveries far in advance of the required time. This same process had taken place within industry.

The determination of A-10 ratings, the most common type of preference ratings for materials included in the priorities list, was delegated by the Priorities Division to the manufacturers of defense products; these manufacturers were able to place all orders for equipment and materials which they declared to be necessary for defense production under the A-10 schedule. No real check upon their actions was possible and no adequate measures were taken to prevent their hoarding scarce materials. The result was almost ludicrous. In August more than 80 percent of all pig-iron production was placed under A-10 ratings, although not more than 20 percent was required for direct military use. In September the A-10 ratings issued upon copper exceeded total copper output.

The lavish handouts of A-10 ratings caused, in effect, a "debasement of the currency" of priorities in which the good ratings were forced out by the bad and the value of all ratings was nearly destroyed. Widespread hoarding developed and in the last two months the OPM has been overwhelmed by the huge quantities of applications for materials based upon questionable A-10 ratings. Disregard of the ratings has also been widespread since, until the passage of the Vinson bill in May, 1941, the observance of the non-military priority schedules on the part of the manufacturers was purely optional and even subjected manufacturers who coöperated in the defense program to possible civil suits for non-delivery of normal business orders. The confusion was heightened by the absence of a central authority. An almost intolerable division of function arose between OPACS and OPM as the result of an unworkable executive order concerning civilian supplies. In addition, the Maritime Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission and Secretary Ickes have exercised unlimited priority powers in their own fields.

The reorganization has faced this breakdown. It has attacked the problem of personnel by placing Donald Nelson in charge of priorities. In bringing together the direction of production, priorities and allocations in the new board, it has acted upon the vital principle that, in the words of the President, "priorities and allocations are an essential part of the entire production process and cannot be regulated or administered independently of production." The reorganization further centralized the authority for administration of priorities. The allocation of civilian and military supplies is now under the new board, and while the independent agencies of the government retain their priorities power, their decisions are subject to its approval.

In addition, the needs of other belligerents and independent nations are for the first time given equal representation with the needs of the armed forces and the government, through the presence on the board of Hopkins and Wallace. This is of immense importance and it is bound closely to the meeting of the Atlantic. Shortly before that meeting, the State Department

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requested the OPM to declare what raw materials could be made available to Russia. Without exception the business heads of the commodity sections replied that no materials were available. One week ago instructions that raw materials should be made available were sent to the OPM by the White House. This time there was a different response. From now on the character of our defense program will be more closely integrated with the total effort of the Allies, as it should be.

On the other hand, the new reorganization is limited by the absence of a specified authority to force the army and navy to accelerate the schedules of new plant construction, an authority which is certainly not fulfilled by the new Contract Distribution Division of the OPM. In addition, there remains in the Priorities Division and the commodity sections of the OPM the energetic army of obstructionists which, though it has lost two of its generals, is still powerful enough to smother the good intentions of men who have not the time to give to detail.

"I am but a living ganglion of irreconcilable antagonisms," said the hero of H.M.S. Pinafore. Until the reorganization is carried through from the policy-making to the operating level, the invisible one-man head within the OPM will remain—Ralph Rackstraw.

Washington MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Scientists in Uniform: America

THE PRESENT WAR has been described in many ways: as a war of whole peoples, a psychological war, a blitz war of ultra speed and surprise. It could also properly be called a war of science. Never before in history has so little been left to chance, so much planned out on the basis of expert information.

What are American chances in an era when the best research brains of all countries are mobilized either for aggression or defense? In the effort to answer this question I have recently been traveling around the United States, talking to nearly all the scientific leaders in whose hands this aspect of American defense has been placed, visiting some of the great laboratories where ways and means are being worked out. As a result, I can bring a message of substantial reassurance.

It seems fairly certain that in no other country, not even Germany, have scientific abilities been so completely mobilized as is the case today in the United States. The top research experts who are in the closest touch with the work being done all over the world believe that in Germany, in particular, the clock of scientific progress is running down. Making full allowance for the fact that most of this work is today kept secret, in all countries, they still believe that America is going ahead at a more considerable speed than any other country. Take for example the important field of chemical research. In the great laboratories of the Mellon Institute at Pittsburgh, a record is kept, so far as possible, of every important discovery or development in chemistry throughout the world, based upon the scientific journals of all countries. Recently the record for the United States has been surpassing that for Germany in a ratio of seven or eight to one. The experts do not believe that wartime secrecy accounts for more than a small part of this difference.

It is an ironic fact that nearly all the weapons which gave Germany such an unparalleled series of successes in the first two years of the war were of American origin. For the airplane, of course, the main credit must go to the Wright brothers. The machine gun was produced by an American, as the six-shooter had been many years earlier. Dive bombing is our invention; the idea of parachute troops was first developed here, and then copied successively by the Russians and the Germans. Mechanized warfare is chiefly an application of the automobile to combat, and America gets the lion's share of the credit for the motor car.

This record continues to the present day, even down to the wonderful new "radiolocator" by which the British can detect the approach of enemy airplanes long before they are within sight or hearing, and can do so even at night or in heavy fog. The radiolocator is a device which sends out very short radio waves in a horizontal direction. They reach the oncoming enemy plane and bounce back into the locating apparatus. This is one form of the American invention by which the pilot of a commercial air line sends radio waves directly down on ahead to bounce back and tell him his altitude above the earth and whether he is about to run into the side of a mountain.

More elaborate machinery has been set up in America than in any other country for mobilizing the scientific brains of the nation. Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has recently been made head of a clearing committee to coordinate all scientific efforts. The National Research Council, the National Academy of Sciences and their numerous special subcommittees are doing valuable work, as are committees of many other scientific bodies. The National Inventors' Council has as its moving spirit Mr. Charles F. Kettering, director of research for General Motors, one of the most active and inquiring minds in American industry. It is the job of the council to sort out the vast number of ideas presented by one of the most ingenious and inventive nations on earth and to find the one in a thousand which really works—and conceivably, might make this country irresistibly powerful.

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In mobilizing our scientific brains we have used a remarkable new technique. Dr. Leonard Carmichael, a distinguished psychologist and president of Tufts College, has already described in our pages (The New Republic, March 3, 1941) the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, of which he is the director. Through the scientific societies and other sources, blanks were sent out to many thousands of trained scientists all over the country and they were asked to report on themselves in great detail. These cards were then put through the highly ingenious machines first developed by the United States Census Bureau, where all sorts of facts are recorded by holes punched at various places. When the cards are then "played back" through a special mechanism, all the men who possess any particular qualification can be found in only a few minutes even among hundreds of thousands of cards. If for any reason the government wanted the name and address of every expert physicist who speaks German and can fly an airplane, this information—or any similar set of facts—can be assembled almost literally at a moment's notice.

One remarkable difference between previous applications of science to national defense and those of today is that even pure research is now seen to have valuable possibilities. In the past, the scientist was given a concrete problem and told to solve it; today, as Julian Huxley points out, he is invited to develop radically new scientific and technical methods, such as last-word electronic physics and wave mechanics. To work on atom-smashing with a cyclotron may seem a far cry from any battle front; yet if the final secret of atomic energy could be captured it might win the war.

Take for illustration the question of nutrition, on which a special committee is at work, headed by Dr. Russell Wilder of the Mayo Clinic. There is in the first place the matter of the diet that will give our fighting men maximum strength, vigor and resistance to disease. The American soldier of today is getting food which differs enormously from that of his father who was in the AEF twenty-five years ago. In general, he gets less starch and more fruit, green and yellow vegetables and milk, in order to make certain that he receives adequate quantities of the precious vitamins. Actual "fortification" of his diet with certain vitamins is under consideration.

The Germans have given great attention to nutrition, and it is interesting to know that very few of their soldiers are given artificial vitamin pills. In general, the German army is on almost a vegetarian diet. The meat the soldier does get consists largely of heart, liver, kidneys and lungs, which are ultra-rich in vitamins. He is fed bread made from whole rye, high in Vitamin-B content. He gets a large amount of potato, cooked in various ways, and quantities of dried vegetables and fruits. The soya bean gives him the protein that the American soldier gets from meat; soya beans contain 36 percent of a protein similar to that found in animal tissues. The American soldier's diet is richer than the German's not only in meat but in butter, fruit and fruit juices. Our nutrition experts beleve it is an excellent menu, though some of them feel it is perhaps low in thiamin chloride (Vitamin B_1) and in calcium.

The scientists do not stop with the problem of the soldier's diet. The health of the civilian population is equally important, and especially that of workers in the defense industries. The present move for adding thiamin chloride, calcium and perhaps iron, nicotinic acid and riboflavin to white bread has been encouraged by the nutrition experts attached to national-defense headquarters. Thiamin chloride is often called "the morale vitamin" because people who do not get adequate amounts of it seem to lose their nerve. The nutrition experts believe they have evidence that Hitler is systematically withholding thiamin chloride from the inhabitants of conquered countries in the hope of breaking their spirits enough to prevent serious revolt.

We can realize how important this subject is when we remember that a blockade, such as the present German and British ones directed at each other, has as one of its primary purposes to starve out the civilian population and force a surrender. But this concept of blockade goes back to an earlier day when we did not know about vitamins. Today, some of the most important of them, such as thiamin chloride, can be created synthetically, and the scientists are hard at work trying to learn the molecular structure of the rest so that they too can be made to order. Today's nutrition experts are prepared to feed an entire population out of resources so limited that even a decade ago they would have been thought fatally inadequate.

One of the outstanding problems of science in this war as in other recent ones is to work out substitutes for raw materials which are needed in defense projects or are unavailable for some other reason. American science has contributed and is contributing heavily to such work. An artificial silk has been developed, chiefly through American efforts, which is a substitute for raw silk from Japan even in such important items as parachutes and power bags for use in big guns. There are important American processes that could be used in the manufacture of synthetic gasoline if it were necessary, and this country is now prepared to turn out a high quality of synthetic rubber at a price which is not at all prohibitive. The United States leads the world in the plastics industry and the manufacturers of various types of plastics are enjoying unprecedented business as steel and other minerals are withdrawn from commercial products and substitutes are necessary.

A branch of science that is being used heavily for the first time in this war is psychology. In 1917, we thought it was the wonder of the world when the army

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used psychologists to give intelligence tests and thus sort out roughly the men too stupid for the more skilled types of work. Today, as Dr. Robert M. Yerkes of Yale emphasizes, psychological science has gone far beyond these elementary beginnings.

One of the most important uses is in examining aviation applicants to find whether they will make good fliers. A pilot of course needs sound physical equipment, and especially eyes, ears and heart. He must be able to withstand sudden and violent changes in altitude. Beyond these physical characteristics, the pilot needs other qualities as well: self-reliance, aggressiveness, dogged determination. The Committee on Pilot Aptitude of the National Research Council has been working with the Civil Aeronautics Authority and other groups devising tests that can be applied both to civilian and military pilots to weed out the psychological misfits before many thousands of dollars have been spent on each man in teaching him to fly.

Psychology can be used in regard to every branch of the fighting forces to detect at the beginning men of unstable mental traits, who are likely to break down under the strain of battle. Failure to take this precaution in the last war cost the United States a billion dollars in hospitalization of men who should never have been inducted into the military service at all, or only for special duties. The knowledge of today permits the examining official to weed out the greater part of such individuals in advance.

Among those who should be excluded from active duty are the very large number who suffer from what is known as "soldier's heart." This malady reveals itself in the form of rapid pulse, fluctuating blood pressure, fatigue, shortness of breath and trembling. To a layman sitting comfortably in his home far from the battle line this may sound like a rather comic scientific description of a plain state of panic, but the doctors know that this is not true; many brave men have fallen victim to it, and it is so serious as to incapacitate the individual. Dr. John T. King of Johns Hopkins has discovered that men with "soldier's heart" are highly sensitive to injections of adrenalin. The stress of military life causes the adrenal gland to function excessively, and apparently certain individuals are allergic *to their own adrenalin.* A prospective soldier can be tested with a subcutaneous injection of one-half milligram of adrenalin, and a very large proportion of the cases can be weeded out.

It must be admitted that in giving psychological tests to soldiers Germany is at present far in advance of other countries. Men are examined before entering the army and at many other times. A soldier from the ranks who is an applicant for an officer's commission is given two days of continuous tests by a board of psychological experts. These tests involve elaborate apparatus so that a candidate must perform several different operations simultaneously or in a complicated arbitrary order. At times the examiner shouts angrily when a mistake is made, to note how the candidate reacts to violent rebuke. When he has done an exhausting perpendicular climb with a heavy pack on his back, he is harshly ordered to repeat it immediately, to test his discipline and persistence. Motion pictures are taken of many parts of the examination and these are afterwards studied by the board of examiners with minute care, directed especially toward the facial expression of the candidate when under stress.

It should not be thought that the psychological tests are to be used to pick out the brightest men and reject the others in toto. As Commander C. M. Louttit, psychologist in the United States Naval Medical School, has pointed out, there are many duties in connection with war or preparedness that can be carried out admirably by people of low intelligence. Thus a feeble-minded individual can tend a machine if it is not too complicated. Adults with the mentality of a five-year-old child can be taught to knit and perform other useful functions. Morons make excellent members of a labor battalion. Behind the lines, psychology is useful in fitting the worker to the job, in keeping up his morale and in removing other needless obstacles to maximum production. One of these obstacles is long hours.

The use of psychology as an offensive weapon is a complicated story of which I can only give the outline here. Thus far, Germany has far exceeded all the rest of the world in studying the mental attitude of other nations and then trying to put pressure on them accordingly. The Geopolitics Institute in Berlin has accumulated hundreds of thousands of facts about countries all over the world, which are classified and cross-classified in minute detail. No aspect of the national life of any country is too large or too small to be recorded. The result is that when the Germans wish to start a propaganda campaign in any country—Bolivia, for example—they know in advance just what are the right strings to pull to make the Bolivians angry, fearful or patriotically proud. By temperament the Germans are stupid about understanding other people's viewpoint. During the Great War they made many blunders of this sort. I don't suppose this national trait has been eliminated; but the recent work of the expert psychologists has made it much less likely that their efforts will back-fire.

No group of scientists is doing more exciting work than those in the fields of electricity, radio and television, which are now practically one. A whole series of inventions has lately been developed in connection with the technique of warfare. For example, as an airplane flies over enemy country, its occupants take photographs or draw maps of the terrain. These are immediately transmitted by radio facsimile to the home headquarters, both for prompt study and so that they will not be destroyed if the map-making plane should be shot down.

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It is well known that a motor boat, automobile or even airplane can now be guided by remote control, using radio waves. Scientists are working on a number of possible practical applications of this. In theory at least, there is no reason why a small plane, carrying a load of explosives but no occupants, should not be maneuvered by radio until it is over the enemy objectives and its load released. A television set in such a robot plane might be used to show the control operator, behind his own lines, just where the plane is, even beyond the horizon. The same principle should be applicable to a robot submarine which would become in effect a controllable torpedo. A small robot tank might be driven into the path of an oncoming big one of the enemy, and exploded at the moment when it can do the most harm. In the First World War there were excellent listening devices to detect approaching airplanes or submarines; but since the coming of the electronic tube, they are a great deal more sensitive and efficient.

The uses of radio broadcasting itself in wartime are numerous. They range all the way from propaganda, addressed by long-wave to your own people and by short-wave to those of the enemy, to two-way conversations between headquarters and men in airplanes, submarines or tanks. The new type of radio, frequency modulation, is now being used, and especially in tanks, since it is entirely free from static.

The recently developed technique of microphone and amplifier is being used in numerous ways. Loudspeakers through which propaganda is directed across No Man's Land to the enemy trenches are now familiar whenever war assumes a positional character to make this possible. Phonograph records of battle noises can be played over a loud-speaker system to confuse an enemy into believing he faces a large force. In camp, either a phonograph record or a live bugler can be used with an amplifier system and one man can wake up all sleepers for square miles, if necessary. It is amusing to know that through amplification, a firecracker or a small pistol firing a blank cartridge will reverberate across a great area and salute a visiting admiral or general with plenty of noise and a minimum waste of needed ammunition.

A department of science of great importance in wartime is of course medicine. It is perhaps some slight consolation in days like these to remember that many important medical discoveries have been made on the battlefield. Conversely, valuable new advances from civilian laboratories are now being applied by the medical officers of the army and navy. A far larger proportion of wounded men can now be saved than ever in the past. Disease, which before 1914 had always killed more soldiers during war than wounds, can now be held down to a small minimum (unless we get another influenza epidemic like that of 1918). Even here, a promising new vaccine holds out hope.

Sulfanilamide and the other sulfa drugs have a seemingly miraculous effect upon wounds when dusted over the surface or in certain cases taken internally. The importance of this is realized when we remember that in the World War, 70 percent of all deaths from wounds were caused by a single type of streptococcus infection. A valuable new technique for many types of wounds is simply to cover them with plaster of Paris and let them alone; this great medical discovery came out of the recent civil war in Spain. When large bones are broken, as in a leg, a metal pin is now thrust through the two parts and kept in place until they become joined. The "radio knife," now used for surgery, not only prevents infection but minimizes bleeding, shock and pain. Under new techniques, nerves can now be grafted together. Everyone knows of the important development of "blood banks" which make possible blood transfusions even though no donor with blood of the proper type is available; they were first used in Russia in time of peace and in Spain during the civil war. The latest development, though one whose technical difficulties have not yet been entirely solved, is to dry out the plasma—that part of the blood which remains when the cells have been removed—and keep it in this dried form indefinitely.

A grave problem when numbers of men from civilian life are brought together in the crowded conditions of barracks is possible epidemics of infectious diseases such as measles, influenza and meningitis. A series of special committees of doctors is now working with the Army Medical Corps on this problem. It is known that certain types of ultra-violet light destroy bacteria which come into their path, and this system is already in use in hospital operating rooms, in restaurant kitchens to sterilize eating utensils, and a few other places. Dr. William F. Wells of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, a pioneer in this research, is now engaged in plans to use the apparatus in military barracks and field hospitals. Some interesting work has also been done at the University of Chicago Medical School by filling the air with a germicidal mist consisting of propylene glycol. The concentration is so slight that the mist is odorless and invisible. It leaves no stain and seems to have no deleterious effect on humans.

No military art calls upon more varieties of civilian scientists than does camouflage. Not only artists, architects and psychologists are employed, but physicists, chemists, zoölogists and botanists. Modern camouflage is miles away from the gay zigzag streaks of the "dazzle system" employed in the First World War. The purpose today is to make the camouflaged object blend into its background and thus become invisible. Not only individual buildings but whole communities are now built embodying this principle. It is interesting to know that a color-blind flier can "see through" camouflage much easier than one with normal vision.

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New industrial towns have recently been built in England that are practically underground, with a bomb shelter as an integral part of each residence and other building. By studying the results of bombs on buildings constructed of various materials, architects have learned much that they hope may be useful to them in preparing against earthquakes and hurricanes—to say nothing of future bombs.

Nowadays the camouflage expert builds dummy towns complete to deceive enemy airmen, including simulated air fields, factories and other military objectives. An application of this to the sea is found in Germany's threat to fill the North Atlantic with dummy submarines made of wood, on which the British could waste their ammunition.

Science, and only science, can make sure that the nation's resources, both human and material, are utilized to the full. In the American army at present about 40 percent of the drafted men are being rejected because of physical deficiency. Nearly all of these, with proper medical care, could be made fit for limited or complete military duty. The same proportions would apply of course to improvement of the health of the civil population, which includes the defense workers.

Science is sharply critical of the failure of agriculture to make full use of the soil. The difference in yield between the average farm and those few where improved methods are used to the full is astonishing. In England experts have reported that careful rationing and avoidance of waste could save each year food equal to thousands of shiploads. The recommendation is even made that fish should be grown in ponds, where they would be fed sterilized sewage. It may prove that more food per acre can be produced in this way than by ordinary agriculture.

It is a melancholy spectacle to see the best scientific brains in the leading countries of the world turned aside from the kinds of research that are useful for peace to the destructive arts of war. There is some consolation, however, in the fact that, as an incidental part of their researches, they are making discoveries which may ultimately prove of great peacetime benefit; this has been true in the past and is even more true now when so little is being left to chance. And finally, there is reassurance in the fact that the United States is in the vanguard in the worldwide effort to obtain leadership among the nations through the efforts of the chief men of science.

BRUCE BLIVEN

This is one of a series under the general title, "The Men Who Make the Future," based on interviews with leading research scientists. – THE EDITORS

Guerrilla Warfare, Russian Style

THE SOVIET COMMUNIQUÉS have stressed the valor and military achievements of guerrilla forces fighting behind the enemy lines. Although these reports serve the purposes of progaganda by suggesting high civilian morale and united national resistance, I do not think they exaggerate the facts. Of all nations, with the possible exception of England, the Soviet Union was best prepared and equipped to utilize guerrilla tactics and techniques in resisting and ultimately repelling invasion. When the Red Army begins a major counter-offensive, the success or failure of the operation (and, one might say, victory or defeat for Hitler, slavery or freedom for the peoples of Europe) will depend in great measure on what guerrilla forces have done in the first months of the war.

It is necessary to understand the Russian military concept of guerrilla fighting in order rightly to assess its importance in the present struggle. By now it should be clear even to those who were most skeptical of Red Army doctrine that, better than any general staff in Europe, the Russians understood the blitzkrieg and were prepared to conduct the only sort of defense which could overcome it. Briefly, the tactical doctrine may be expressed as stiff, but not unyielding, resistance to the armored spearheads pressing forward in the enemy's vanguard; strong, but limited, counter-attacks against the flanks of the supporting infantry; and harassment at the enemy's rear. This is the strategy both of retreat and of advance. It reaches its median point when the enemy's forward movement has been stopped. It then develops, not into a stalemate or war of position, but into a counter-blitz in which every resource of men and material is thrown into an attack.

There are indications that the median point has been reached after eleven weeks of fighting. It is possible, of course, that another German offensive will develop, make territorial advances, and come to a stopping point before the Soviets undertake their all-out counter-offensive; but the rightness of the tactical doctrine has already been vindicated. The counter-offensive may be beginning now. If not, familiarity with Red Army doctrine gives assurance that it will come.

What is the place of guerrilla fighting in all this? Can the activity of armed civilians and irregular troops, or regular troops isolated in small detachments behind the enemy's lines, have any importance in a campaign in which 4,000 tanks may do battle in a day on one sector of the front, in which a few weeks of fighting account for several million casualties, in which airplanes hide the sun as would a swarm of locusts?

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The answer is that the very magnitude and pace of the fighting lend even greater importance to guerrilla activity. No one has better realized this than the Bolsheviks, whose understanding came partly from their own rich tradition of guerrilla fighting, their Chapayevs and their Budennys; partly from their observation of and practical experience in Spain and China; and partly from their freedom from that type of military thinking which makes warfare the profession of an aristocracy. (It may be noted, parenthetically, that the British Home Guard, conceived by the War Office merely as a corps of immobile "parashots," has become a guerrilla army capable of offering real resistance to invasion only because popular pressure forced the brass hats to bow to the opinions of the former commander of the British battalion of the International Brigade, a newspaperman by profession, whose virtually untrained clerks and poets and navvies and students held the fascists out of Madrid.)

I first began to understand the Red Army's concept of guerrilla fighting while attending a military school at Pins del Valles, near Barcelona, in 1937. The instructors were Red Army officers. They defined guerrilla warfare for us: "The operations of small but organized groups at the rear of the enemy. . . . They must attack the foe continuously, following the plans of a General Staff that uses the guerrillas as an auxiliary to large-scale operations of the regular-army units."

In the Russian view, guerrilla fighting is not haphazard and uncoördinated sniping at the enemy, but an activity planned and directed by the General Staff, linked with the strategic objectives of the regular army. Soviet political organization, with its civilian leaders provided by the members of the Communist Party, is admirably suited to forwarding this military aim.

In the first stage, that of retreat during mobilization, guerrilla activity is used principally to slow the enemy's advance by making it difficult for him to maintain a system of communication and supply after the armored spearheads have gone on ahead. In the second stage, that of preparation for a counter-offensive, it is used to keep the enemy from resting and consolidating —in prize-ring metaphor, to keep him off balance with a series of light jabs. In the third stage, that of the counter-offensive, it is used to coöperate with the advance forces of the attacking army, especially with the air arm, with parachute troops and air-borne infantry. It is this last stage in which the work of guerrillas becomes most exciting, and occurs on the broadest scale. Every act of sabotage in conquered territory becomes an act, not of desperation, but of contribution toward immediate victory.

Guerrilla opposition is in any case damaging to an army's morale; but it is infinitely more damaging to the morale of an army which meets it in retreating. It feeds on every success, multiplies with every victory. Guerrillas can do an almost infinite number of things, given a minimum of small arms, dynamite, gasoline, ingenuity and courage. Given none of these but ingenuity and courage, they can still do much. The Russians have courage and the will to fight; as to ingenuity, there is the evidence of China, Spain and the Russian civil war. Small arms are sure; it was the policy of the Soviets to let reservists keep their small arms when they finished training, and it has been relatively easy to distribute further supplies, at least behind the old frontiers of the Soviet Union, while the Germans were working their way across buffer territory acquired from Poland and Rumania. Dynamite and gasoline are more problematical, although supplies of the latter are probably available in most places, since they were essential to the conduct of mechanized agriculture. Dynamite is easy to manufacture.

Partisan activities fall into three main categories: defense of villages and countrysides to hold up advancing infantry and inflict maximum casualties upon it; harrying of the enemy by sudden raids on supply roads, communication lines, munition dumps, food depots, bridges and railway lines, even isolated groups of tanks and armored cars; and obtaining information about the enemy for the benefit of the General Staff.

The second and third of these three types of activity are traditional. Spying, scouting and raiding are associated in the public mind with guerrilla fighting; American military history is replete with examples. But the importance of the first type, under present conditions of warfare, must not be underestimated.

The development of modern warfare into a colossal tactic of infiltration and consolidation against a defense in depth has made the role of an armed civilian populace more important than it has ever been. That "there are no non-combatants now" is true not just because planes bomb cities blindly, but because armored columns flow past villages, towns and cities, expecting the supporting infantry to conquer them. To support his plunging spearheads, an invader must constantly widen the base of the triangle whose apex is the armored column. He must "mop up." Upon the length of time it takes to do this mopping-up, and upon the amount of material lost and the number of casualties suffered depends, to a great extent, the speed with which the spearhead can advance—and, ultimately, whether it can advance at all. In previous German campaigns, the mopping up has been a relatively easy process. The defending armies were either encircled and destroyed by the operations of the advance guard, in which case there was no point to civilian resistance in unconquered territory, or were forced to retreat to avoid encirclement, abandoning towns and cities which had not yet even been attacked.

In Russia such retreat to avoid encirclement was equally necessary. But—and here is the significance of Premier Stalin's appeal to the Russian people to "make every home and office a fortress"—resistance was not

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abandoned. According to the exigencies of the situation as interpreted by the army command, the village, town or city was either burned to the ground or defended, house to house and street to street, by the civilian population plus small detachments of the regular army. Such a defense, well organized, can be frightfully costly to the enemy, leaving him only two alternatives: to waste a lot of men in an infantry assault, or to level the place with bombardment by ground and air artillery. The latter not only forces him to take valuable material away from the real front, but leaves him nothing but a useless heap of ruins when he has won. The defenders may have lost many lives; but they were not the lives of soldiers. And they have sacrificed no important material. Rifles, shotguns, pistols, grenades, incendiary bottles, dynamite or gasoline mines, a few machine-guns and simple flame-throwers are sufficient equipment for effective defense.

Fighting in a blitz, on the attacking side, is the hardest kind of labor. After a time the toughest of soldiers must have a period for recuperation—rest and sleep for their bodies, respite from the imminent threat of death for their minds and spirits. Guerrilla bands, darting out from nowhere in the dead of night to strike a swift blow and disappear into nowhere, can do much to make bad soldiers out of good ones.

But guerrilla activity has no less important a relationship to the morale of one's own side. A civilian population which feels it can do nothing but wait in terror for the enemy to come is but poor support for an army. A civilian population which knows it can do something to hurt the enemy, knows what to do and how to do it, feels that confidence and courage which is the essence of morale. With such a populace both the political and military direction of warfare are infinitely easier.

RICARDO SAAVEDRA

Britain's Jim Crow War

Some of Britain's present troubles can be traced directly to her failure to develop the empire's vast resources for the total war. The defeat in Scandinavia convinced her of the need for a dynamic policy; but the change has had only slight effects as yet in India and the colonies. A visitor to most of the British colonies at the end of the second year of the war would be unable to guess that the empire is engaged in a struggle for life. The lackadaisical, do-nothing, haughty colonial officials continue as of yore; unemployment, poverty and hunger among the natives have in many cases become more serious; in some colonies there is a shortage of foodstuffs while agricultural raw materials worth tens of millions of dollars are allowed to rot in the fields. Beyond these manifestations, however, there is little to indicate that a major war is in progress. London seems determined to wage a strictly white man's war.

The British Empire has about 525,000,000 inhabitants, 70,000,000 white and the remainder colored; the Axis, even with Japan included, has somewhat fewer than 200,000,000. Offhand it would seem that the empire had a very substantial advantage. But in fact, no serious effort has been made to use most of this manpower. Only in the white dominions have real attempts been made to raise large modern armies.

An army of 5,000,000 would seem not much of a contribution to ask from India, with her 380,000,000 or 400,000,000 inhabitants. But it was not until spring of 1940 that Britain decided to expand the Indian military establishment—and then by a grand total of 100,000 men! The recruiting campaign proceeded at a snail's pace during the summer and autumn of last year. Toward the end of 1940 it was officially announced at Delhi that some sixty-odd thousand men had enlisted in the army. Not till this spring did recruitment assume serious proportions. Recently General Wavell announced that the Indian military establishment has risen to about 750,000 troops, but it is probable that this total includes some auxiliary forces.

Even less has been done to utilize the human resources of the colonies. The British have shown little desire to train colonial armies. No attempt has been made, so far as I know, to convince colonial peoples that this is their war. On the contrary, the gigantic struggle has been kept on the level of "another white man's squabble." What wonder, then, if the overwhelming majority of colonial peoples have maintained a passive attitude to the war. The few groups which offered their services, as did some of the Zionists in Palestine, were rejected. I doubt if all the military expansion of the character described throughout the length and breadth of the British colonial empire amounts to more than a couple of divisions.

The official explanation for the failure to utilize the empire's manpower, as the Parliamentary Secretary of the Colonial Office, George Hall, told the House of Commons at the end of May, has been that "it is no use having volunteers unless you have equipment for them." This explanation is true enough, although it does not tell the whole story. Yet the question arises, why doesn't Britain have the equipment? The British Empire contains vast deposits of all sorts of vital raw materials necessary for production of war equipment. Small industries exist in many areas which could be expanded for military use; many more factories could be developed. There is no lack of potential labor. Tens of millions of men could be found for industrial pro-

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duction; all they need is training. What has been done to utilize those immense resources? Have great training and building programs been launched? Will the empire produce the equipment after a year or two?

On the whole, the answer is No. Some efforts have recently been launched at a war-industry program in India, but it is far smaller than it should be. In the colonies, still less has been done. Indian industry is now, it is true, manufacturing thousands of items for the armed forces, but the overwhelming majority of these are not of the heavy-industry type. The expansion in iron and steel production has been small in proportion to the possibilities. I do not want to underrate the difficulties; but even allowing for them, less has been done than was possible and desirable.

This is partly because of the hidebound bureaucracy of the Colonial Service, which, like all bureaucracies the world over, hates and fears novel tasks. Maintenance of "law and order" remains its highest ideal.

Typical of Britain's colonial policy are the instructions to governors issued by Lord Lloyd, Colonial Secretary, shortly before his death. He told the colonies their contribution to defeating Hitler must be (a) producing raw materials for hard cash; (b) refraining from demanding non-essential imports; (c) developing production of foodstuffs for local demands and (d) by not asking for shipping. Even the passage dealing specifically with "military" contributions asked the colonies only to discontinue social and economic-development schemes which are supervised by British technicians, who might be needed at home for other tasks.

The result of these policies has been tragic. The classic colonial economy—and this is true of at least 90 percent of all colonial possessions—is based on the export of one or two raw materials, usually agricultural raw materials. In the West Indies it is sugar, in Egypt it is cotton, in Jamaica it is bananas, in the Gold Coast and Nigeria it is cocoa, in Palestine it is oranges, in Gambia it is groundnuts, in Ceylon it is tea. On the other hand, the colonies depend on outside sources not only for the simplest manufactured goods, but for a very large part of their foodstuffs. Many colonial peoples are undernourished; even though their staple diet consists of rice, corn or similar simple, low-quality foods, these must be imported. Their economy is as insecure as that of the industrialized countries, without the at least partially compensating advantages.

The inevitable effects of the impact of war are not difficult to perceive. Shortage of shipping and the closing of continental markets means, first of all, that the colonies are unable to dispose of their bulky raw materials. This is bound to result in unemployment, bankruptcies and in decline in government revenue. Unable to sell, the colonies cannot purchase foodstuffs, even if the necessary shipping were available. Only a well planned policy to change the whole economic structure can prevent grave suffering. Food production must be increased at the expense of export crops; land-development schemes must be launched; industrial raw materials must be exploited; above all, industrial establishments should be opened to diversify the native economy. Both the needs of the native peoples and Britain's urgent need to develop the empire's war potential called for a dynamic policy.

Unfortunately, long-range imperialist calculations seem to have dominated British decisions. London remembers unhappily the painful experiences of the last war. At that time promises were made to the Arabs, Indians and other groups, which were not carried out after the war. If the government thought these promises would be forgotten, it was mistaken. Native soldiers, returning to their villages, did not return to the pre-war habits of thought. They had learned a new relationship between colored men and white, and their unsatisfied demands were a continuing source of trouble.

The economic developments were also a problem. Factories in the colonies and in India, created under the stimulus of war, turned to civil production and began to compete with British industry. The wealth which flowed in to the colonies from the west during the war years helped create a new colonial middle class which soon developed political and economic ambitions incompatible with imperialist rule. Finding its path blocked by the white rulers, the new middle class threw itself into nationalist agitation. Native intellectuals who had been promoted during the war to important posts in the government learned that they could often work as well as Europeans, and showed no inclination to resume subordinate, clerical jobs when colonial officials began to flock back after the Armistice. No less important was the creation of a new industrial proletariat which everywhere identified its interests with those of the extreme nationalists.

Long before this war began British officials decided to avoid if they could the hasty promises of 1914-18. But is it not time now that Great Britain put her own imperial house in order for maximum defense efficiency?

ALBERT VITON

Pastoral: 1941

From bread and wine and the holy sticks
Now comes no peace;
High in the wind the bound bell rocks;
Should binding break, the brazen voice
Yell horror through the hand-sized cottage panes,
And herdsman finger bayonet in the lane.

The walnut gypsy, high on the Downs,
Stifles his fire,
Stills children's voices as the groans
Of dying cities dance in his ear.
There are no seasons now for pipe and drum;
The steel birds never migrate from our dreams.

HENRY TREECE

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Washington Notes

The Greer Incident

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS are as baffled by the attack on the Greer as they were by the earlier sinking of Robin Moor. In some ways the second incident made even less sense than the first. The Robin Moor was carrying supplies to the British; the Greer was merely carrying mail to Iceland. In neither case was the mission of the American ship sufficiently important in itself to justify the risk of provoking a shooting war with the United States. Two assumptions are possible in the premises: first, that overzealous U-boat captains misunderstood or exceeded their orders or, second, that Hitler, for reasons of high strategy, deliberately instructed the German navy to hunt down unescorted American ships and sink them.

The theory of misunderstood or misinterpreted orders has little to commend it. The German army and navy are not loosely organized forces in which commanding officers are likely to make mistakes of this kind. Circumstances surrounding both the Robin Moor and Greer affairs indicate that the assaults were premeditated and that the intended victims were fully identified. Because the sinking of the Robin Moor did not seem to fit itself into any rational pattern of subsequent events, some experts still believe it might have been the act of a submarine commander with a wayward trigger finger. But they admit a repetition, assuming that such an accident might have happened once, is too flagrant a violation of the law of averages.

So this particular attack or a similar operation in the North Atlantic must have been ordered by Hitler. The question, then, is why. The most obvious answer and the one most frequently given by administration officials is that the Germans wanted to stiffen the resistance of their Japanese allies to Anglo-American pressure for a peaceful settlement in the Pacific. By engaging an American navy vessel at the Western side of the North Atlantic, Hitler told the Japanese, in effect: "Go ahead with your plans for the new order. Don't be frightened. See how I am drawing the American navy into the Atlantic. This is just a sample of what I can do to help you."

Perhaps the torpedoing of the Robin Moor was intended to convey a similar message to the Vichy government. Maybe it was to serve notice on General Weygand that the Germans would blockade Africa unless he consented to further measures of collaboration. Or it may have been to test the toughness of the American people and their government. Whatever prompted the South Atlantic operation, it was not followed up. Within a few days of the Robin Moor's sinking, Germany marched into Russia.

Washington officials have become wary of prediction where the complexities of Hitler's mind are the determining factor, but it is fair to report that few of them expect the attack on the Greer to be an isolated incident. They expect other American ships to be shot at. They are convinced that Hitler, if forced to dig in for the winter on the Russian front, as he apparently will be, will return to the Battle of the Atlantic with renewed ferocity. This battle has not gone so well for him recently. British shipping losses in August are understood to have been the lowest of the year. The American patrol to Iceland, while not the reason for the August record, had something to do with it. It may have had enough to do with it for Hitler to extend his Atlantic battle front west of Iceland.

In support of the contention that the Germans have decided to extend their blockade to the western side of the Atlantic at the risk of war with the United States, some officials profess to see World War history repeating itself. When the Kaiser's armies failed to knock out the Allies in the Battle of Verdun, the Kaiser's navy resumed unrestricted submarine warfare knowing that it would almost certainly draw the United States into the war. President Roosevelt, no less than President Wilson, is committed to the doctrine of freedom of the seas. Indeed, his order that the Greer's assailant be "eliminated" was more warlike than anything Wilson did prior to the 1917 declaration of war.

Yet the Greer incident and its aftermath caused little excitement in Washington or, so far as could be determined, in the rest of the country. The attitude of the public seemed to be about what it was toward the Robin Moor incident. Things of this kind were expected. There was no great wave of indignation but neither was there any panic. If the President can with impunity order the Greer's attacker eliminated, then he can order any German submarine sighted in the North Atlantic eliminated. Any of them might have fired on the Greer. The more incidents of this kind there are, the more obvious it will be that a general hunt for German raiders is necessary. Presently, exchange of shots between German and American craft in the North Atlantic may become routine. If so, the American public probably will take it in stride. It is quite possible that the United States will become habituated to war before it is aroused to war. And the end result may be about the same.

The House will accept all the important changes made in its tax bill by the Senate. President Roosevelt will sign the bill. A minority in the House and later, perhaps, the President will protest that the measure as finally put together violates almost every known concept of equitable taxation. It conforms with the Treasury's original program in only one respect—by lowering individual exemptions and thus broadening the revenue base. It fails to stiffen rates on excess profits and inheritances to the extent demanded by the Treasury and its excise schedules put few curbs on civilian purchase of defense materials. The spirit of the measure is well illustrated by the section that requires the owner of a Cadillac and the owner of a Model-T Ford to pay the same $5 use tax.

The movie investigation starting this week is an isolationist trick. It is being conducted by a packed committee whose members were appointed by Chairman Wheeler of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee. The inquiry has not been authorized by the Senate. Technically, the hearings are to determine whether an investigation is justified. The idea was to put the Jewish captains of the movie industry on the spot for warmongering. But the idea started miscarrying when the movies retained Wendell Willkie to do their talking in the Committee's forum.

Washington T. R. B.

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Their Heart Belongs to Dada

THE DIRECTORS of the Museum of Modern Art have been showing some of their more or less recent acquisitions of oils, water colors, sculpture and so on by Surrealist and Dada artists—Miro, Duchamps, Picasso, Thurber, Ernst and others. There is Pierre Roy's delightful "Agricultural Conference," which, like Ernst's "The Nymph Echo" and many another of these fantastic paintings, looks much better in its own color than printed in black and white. The presentation for the moment, however, revolves around Ensor's "Tribulation of St. Anthony."

This picture was painted in 1887 and had hung for years in the Cologne Museum, when the Nazis found it too "modern" in the objectionable sense familiar to us in their use of the term, and ordered it removed from the exhibition. It now belongs to the Museum of Modern Art.

Baron James Ensor at eighty is to be considered the greatest modern artist of Belgium. And this very beautiful and stirring picture, as amazing as it is poetic and grotesque, has many angles of interest. I am not one of those, I am glad to say, for whom the mere fact that the Nazis banned it, makes this painting of Ensor's a fine or significant work of art. Such esthetic misguidance and deviousness, conscious or subconscious, on my part, common as it is among persons writing about the arts, would mean not so much harm for the Nazis as another victory, however small, for them —since paralyzing our brains and theories and paralyzing our traffic and harbors might easily be two aspects of the same thing, and on the final side, the truth of art may be even stronger than certain economic stringencies. This painting has forgotten the Nazis long ago, its angles of interest have a permanence special to them.

Art reviewing, I often think, takes far too little heed of canvases' dimensions. Pictures often vary in their impact, appeal or decorative values according to what size they present, the amount of space they assume and employ. This "St. Anthony" canvas is 3 5/6 by 5½ feet. The saint is seated toward the bottom of the scene, left, and a mouth of hell has belched out—with a fair amount of cynical lyricism, I must say—a decoration of evil phantoms, derived from earlier painters—the Dutch Bosch, sixteenth century, Flemings like the Breughel family, Peper Huys a century later, and David Teniers and others in the following century. Nothing about the Ensor frightens me, however, except my own degree of abandoned delight in it.

Ensor, on his father's side, was half English, which may, if you like, relate some of his effects to Turner, an overglow, a pause in light, an arrogant distribution of the luminous. Ensor, too, painting thus in the 1880's, was, as Mr. Barr, director of the Museum, tells us, familiar with the work of the Paris vanguard, the Neo-Impressionists, Seurat and Signac, Monet, Pisarro. Actually, he went "far beyond Impressionism and flatly rejected the scientifically rational theory and technique of Neo-Impressionism. . . ."

Paintings of damnations and temptations and the imps and horrific inventions of hell, sin and woeful energy, were taken to mean a warning to Christian men and women. There was a genuine vogue for them all over Europe, and in Spain especially, as anybody might know who has ever visited the Prado or the Escorial. And presently it grew clear that salvation and repentance were not all there was to the matter, there was the charm as well of the supernatural clowning, of the fantastic, the grotesque, of satire and folk legend with its graphic images.

This aspect of such painting is no news of course, either earlier or—as in Goya, Blake and scores of other well known artists—later. The general subject is admirably presented, illustrated and edited in the volume on "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" [1] published by the Museum. For people who never heard of Arcimboldo's works in this line, or Dürer's, or never saw any of the fantastic woodcuts of the sixteenth century, or paintings like the "Fall of Phaëton," from the North Italian School, of that same epoch, and who may not even suspect what a vast accumulation there is of fantastic art, often little known, sometimes secret, hidden, Freudian, what not, this book would serve as a notable school and reference.

Keeping this book beside you, and not forgetting that about the appeal of this fantastic art in Spain, will lead you more easily and naturally into Picasso. I mean, of course, when his painting is fantastic or difficult to the point of grotesque. But there is a certain application also to the mentality of works by Picasso that are not fantastic. The new Hyperion Press—once Phaidon—book on Picasso,[2] provides an introduction that is highly complex, sometimes precious or self-conscious or not wholly trustworthy but often brilliant and pointed and rich.

The discussion of the course of Picasso's creative thought begins with Georg Simmel's remarking "two styles of existence": the systematic style, which satisfies our need for regularity and symmetry and which might be represented by the circle; and the progressive style which follows a straight line leading to infinity, never satisfied with its acquisitions. The work of the great French masters like Ingres and Cézanne belongs to the systematic style. It is self-contained and seems logical and harmonious. We must go to the opposite end of this mental universe, we are told, in order to find the most marvelous example of the progressive style in the art of Picasso. His mind proceeds in a straight line, or rather in a series of straight lines; and being a civilized man he chooses his references, his points of departure or of contrast, in the immense repertory of existing styles. But he does so without seeking to compose out of all these diverse inspirations a complete and logical image of himself.

Picasso is reported to have said that he does not seek, he finds. Whether he said that or not, it is true that he never goes back or comes back around the circle; his course carries him continuously onward. Such inspirations as Toulouse-Lautrec, Ingres, African sculpture, Cubism, were each one of them a hypothesis like every other hypothesis for Picasso. After experiment in one of them his genius appears to renew itself without accretions and without wear and tear or loss, and to be ready for new fields. And these are not like the stages in a saint's progress, all within some continuity, or seen as following one another in time, and time a factor in this progress, or conquest, as it is in the life and art of painters like Cézanne and Ingres. We can, on

[1] Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism, with essays by Georges Hugnet. Edited and with an introduction by Alfred H. Barr Jr. New York: The Museum of Modern Art. 296 pages; 222 plates. $3.

[2] Picasso, by Jean Cassou. Translated from the French by Mary Chamot. New York: The Hyperion Press. 167 pages. $4.

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the contrary, imagine the periods of Picasso's art as rejecting time, as his art rejects space. We might almost indeed imagine shuffling these different periods of Picasso into another chronology without affecting their significance.

The account of Barcelona and its possible share in Picasso's genius and practice is fresh and exciting and I think more or less dependable. Picasso was born in Malaga, and studied art in Madrid and Barcelona, so that the three provinces that compose the diversity of Spanish genius, Andalusia, Castile and Catalonia, have all come into his range and quality. The allusions to Barcelona and the ancient Mediterranean, and her great fantastic architect, Gaudi, are excellent lights on Picasso. The plates are passable.

STARK YOUNG

The Bottom of the Basket

IT IS VERY SELDOM that we have the satirical achieved in music, though there is always talk of something like that. We hear or read about a piece that is a terrific comment on something or other and we look it up. By the time we get there the comment has boiled down to what someone told the press about his intentions, and the satirical business is either dependent on what you as a musician know of the obscurities of a composer's personal taste or it isn't there at all. We should not confuse satire with plain horsing around, yet we do, and in jazz there is always an intellectual stumblebum choir urging you to "dig" Louis or the Hawk or the Pheasant or something, the way he is kidding a tune which he has just little enough taste not to be kidding at all, but singing it for real. The best piece I know in the album of recorded music, a tune made purely to poke fun, is Jimmy Dorsey's What's the Reason, which in all the sections of the full band wraps Ted Lewis up for good, but for good (the wah-wah trumpet, the eternal clarinet glissando, the cowbells and cymbal-crash and that there sliding trombone).

As usual, Benny Goodman had been doing a version of the same thing for several years, having played with Lewis himself when he was a little shorty-pants kid. Benny had that true satire in the book when he took his famous band out on the road, only it wasn't famous then and it was flopping nightly, and in Colorado or some such state they said the hell with it, we'll play an ickie number for the ickies, and very warm for the haying, and the sober truth is that satire number brought them out on the floor for dancing, it was the first good music they'd heard and they wouldn't let the band drop it. Benny also had a number he used in the East later, but never recorded, a thing they'd worked up on Shep Fields and his Rippling Watercloset, Waring's Pencilsharpeners, Tommy Doorstep, Eddie Doucher and the like, some sort of thing about Are All My Favorite Bands Playing? Well, they were. It is not to be considered generally commercial, the humor that musicians carry around with them in buses and trains on the one-nighter outline, but it is always high and salty, and if they were allowed to do just a little they could do so much. But, so managers and agents and bookers think, the stuff won't sell. So Benny Heller's routine on Kornplough's Cancer Pit, a restaurant in his home town of Atlantic City, is lost to the world. Teddy Wilson's answer to the jerks who pester him with requests for numbers like "Oh Daddy"—he plays it but gets the band to put a moldy razz-mah-tazz ending on which articulates perfectly their total idea on the subject but also satisfies the request—remains underground, like something you can't speak of in front of a lady or behind her either.

This is just a preface for a record I think a lot of fun can be had out of, by Vaughan Monroe and his Outfit, called Sam, You Made the Pants Too Long. It is the old Lewis-Young Young tune: Lord, You Made the Night Too Long. And it is done up with the proper deep orchestration.

But it is done with just the right straight-face accent—"You made the coat and vest fit the best"—and it is made with the nicest appreciation of what horse they are riding. I think of Johnny Mercer's tune on J. R. Markham—but then I think he got so involved in the good part of the tune he was supposed to be kidding that he finally did not make satire. Bernie Hanighen's version of the Dixieland Band went the same way: he started to spoof and then recognized a legend. But Sam. Oh Sam (pronounced *huh tsem*). That one is really a take-off, and a relief, and pressed on Bluebird for thirty-five cents. It is all in tune too, and given an orchestration, including the trumpet mutes and riddle-riddle on the piano, and the accent growing imperceptibly through "You made the peak lapels look so swell" to the final *tsem* and general atmosphere of a *froelich*.

I am sorry that I cannot recommend an album which Victor has just put out, with the promise mostly on the labels: "The Birth of the Blues." It is done by a group you may have heard on the air, NBC's Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin Street, which is a charming idea. It is timed to coincide with W. C. Handy's book of the same title and includes such titles as Memphis, East St. Louis, St. Louis, Beale Street, Basin Street, Joe Turner, John Henry, Careless Love and that somehow wonderful evergreen, Aunt Hagar's Children; but it is played at haphazard and sung (some of them are not sung, and that is better) by Lena Horne, who sings the blues—of all things the blues, the simple and beautiful in music, the always ever-loving as Handy says—she sings them with expression and nothing less. The man to look to here is Jack Teagarden, the man with the easy blues voice and the trombone. But he is not here. He is not here and the blues aren't here either. They are special and not to be captured by any pack of studio-band people who naturally think first of making an airshow, and only afterwards of making (too late) the thing as it must always be made and come to us, so complete and lovely.

OTIS FERGUSON

It's a funny thing about "Unfinished Business"—it begins as one of those good light comedies with just the proper amount of serious undertone to bring a situation into your life as a thing to recognize and warm to. And then about halfway through, the whole thing goes to pieces before your eyes. That's actually the unfinished business the title refers to.

Irene Dunne is the small-town girl who goes to New York for excitement, mistakes a casual train flirtation with Preston Foster for the real thing, marries his brother, Robert Montgomery, and realizes just in time what a good thing she's got. But the brother is her unfinished business and right here is where everything gets mixed up: the couple

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is separated, Montgomery joins the army, people sock each other for no apparent reason, a baby is suddenly crying in the next room, the principals quarrel and make up and it says The End.

The whole trouble is muddled motivation—no one ever explains why anyone does anything, whether Foster is really a heel or Montgomery just a sour-puss. And since everyone from the stars to Eugene Pallette, as the outspoken but loyal butler, does a fine job of acting, the fault must lie partly with story but mainly with Gregory La Cava's direction.

The good things in the first half make the picture all the more disappointing: situations handled with a light but sure touch, bright, casual dialogue, the first meeting of Montgomery and Irene Dunn, their relationship to each other, the butler's exasperation with the couple's goings on, his welcome-home party for his boss. It's a shame. So much could have been done after such an auspicious beginning, and so little was. M. B.

The Bandwagon

Some colleagues not yet stricken by the heat should take Senator Thomas aside and explain to him that the United States of America is not a democracy.

Democracy Day would be a gross misnomer. No change is desirable. – *From an editorial in The Seattle Sunday Times.*

To the express question which you ask, I can only say that the government has done, and is doing, and will do what, in the light of careful consideration of all the facts known to it—facts of law, of authorization, of prohibition, of opinion, of potentiality, of capacity, of practicability, of timing, of coordination, etc.—seem to its collective personnel best adapted to meeting the needs of the situations and problems with which the country is, progressively, confronted. – *Reply by the State Department to an inquiry whether we would now stop appeasing Japan. Published in The New York Times.*

The industrialists, it should be pointed out, do not blame labor for all that is wrong with the defense program. – *From an article in The Washington Post.*

At a press conference today Koh Ishii, spokesman of the Cabinet Information Board, denied charges of the American press that Americans in Japan were being held as hostages and said there were no restrictions to prevent Americans from leaving Japan "if the Japanese government consents." – *From The New York Times.*

Worth a Summons Any Day

Lieutenant Cornelius O'Connor, on desk duty, confirmed that a child had been shot. Although this is a violation of police regulations, he said that no aided card had been made out for the victim. – *From The New York Times.*

You Might Try Lockjaw

S. G. writes: When I sing, tears come to my eyes. My vision is perfect. What treatment is necessary? – *A letter in Dr. Irving S. Cutter's syndicated column "How to Keep Well" in The Chicago Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Shall We Declare War?

This is the last of a series of letters from 1941 contributors to The New Republic. They were written in response to our query: Do you favor a declaration of war by the United States at this time? – THE EDITORS

SIR: Can there be any question that we are already virtually at war? The President, Congress and public opinion have all been substantially agreed on the actions which have made us, step by step, a practical belligerent. A wide-ranging tour through the country this summer has confirmed me in the belief that the American people are consciously accepting the challenge presented by Nazi Germany. Having chosen the side and entered the war, the only question that remains is how to win it most speedily. A formal declaration of war, like everything else, once the basic decision has been made, becomes part of the strategy of the contest. The occasion and moment of its issuance must be determined by those who have access to official information and are in contact with the associated powers.

Obviously a declaration would intensify our efforts to arm. It would not bring dangers that we have not already contracted or tasks that we are not, even now, striving to accomplish. It would not expand or alter the method of warfare. That method is inexorably decided by circumstances; in fact it has been clearly defined by Germany. And just as we have been acting belligerently without a declaration of war, we may conceivably avoid sending a huge force to Europe despite one.

Meanwhile, let us face the hard fact that we are not fighting for but against something. That seems to be the reason for the lack of great popular enthusiasm and also for the increasing bitterness of the struggle. We are fighting against an attempt, first made ineptly and weakly by Communist Russia and then efficiently and violently by Nazi Germany, to take the destinies of the great countries of the world out of the hands of their own peoples. Those peoples will still have to work out their destinies when the menace is removed, and under far less promising conditions; from this point of view, while peace is impossible, war seems useless. In a sense, therefore, and despite the Wilsonianism of some of the Eight Points of Roosevelt and Churchill, we are reacting against a strict political internationalism. In the United States more specifically, we are seeking to preserve the freedom to function on this continent and in this hemisphere with no more interference, and perhaps with less, than that exercised by the British Empire for a century and more.

The notion that we will pacify Europe permanently or that we will organize the world for prosperity and happiness seems unfortunately baseless. We will try, of course, for a time anyway, and most likely will fail. When this war is over there will be little left of Europe to organize effectively, except to bind a few of its myriad wounds. The outlook for action and government on a world scale is dark, and perhaps happily so. The greatest hope lies not in the establishment of a super-state which will control the activities of the individual large countries but, on the contrary, in their development in relative security from each other. It may be that a sounder peace can only come in Europe as religious toleration once came—through the mutual exhaustion of the embattled partisans. We have therefore gone into this struggle with heavy hearts, not as a matter of choice, high hope, or pure reason, but of unbending necessity.

SOLOMON F. BLOOM

Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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SIR: The German army constitutes more than a military threat just as the German state constitutes more than a political threat to the democratic state. Hitlerism is a total organization of all the constituents of a culture which, in effect, expresses sharply a crisis in mankind. His attacks on democracy are based on technical authority. Consequently we need more than mechanized units and we have to be much more than we are now. In certain instances a critical situation calls for special methods and it seems now that we must establish for the first time those things that give meaning to a democratic way of life. For a rapid, systematic, total education of the American people (through which the state is also educated); for an immediate discussion and plebiscite, the initiative to be given, in part, to the trade unions, universities, student groups, etc. To be *audacious* in the *democratic* sense—that is not to discard, before any crucial event, the elements of democracy; rather it is to intensify them. To work for an awakened, responsible people—that is an effective attack against Hitler. What then are we going to fight Hitler for? Against the status quo and for a true democracy that can truly act.

Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, N. Y. HARVEY BREIT

SIR: I can't think that a declaration of war on either Germany or the Axis as a whole is of first importance at this time. As things stand now, there are no serious limitations on the power of the President to do the things that need to be done, and there is no real doubt anywhere in the world about where we stand. We are, rather lethargically, against Hitler.

I wish I could think that a declaration of war would break our apathy; I can't. The collapse of Russia might do it; or a sufficiently flagrant "incident"; or the appearance of some spectacular and clear-cut leadership in the defense program. Without one or all of these to arouse the people of this country, however, the "unlimited debate" in the United States Senate which would have to precede such a declaration would be indeed unlimited, and I fear that in the meantime we should be more badly stalled than we are at present.

Paris, Va. OPAL DAVIS DAVID

SIR: My view is that we should declare war on Japan, and let war with Germany follow in due course, as it inevitably would. In short, I suggest a different tactical approach, while morally agreeing that we should go to war with Germany.

I suggest beginning with an attack upon Japan in order to get the Japanese navy out of the way and relieve us of concern over our (and the Allies') supplies. There would be no need actually to send troops, it would be a naval affair, with British and Dutch help, and don't forget the Chinese and the Russians. In that theatre only can a powerful alliance be brought against a comparatively weak enemy. Seriously damage the Japanese navy, give China some real equipment, and our allies in the Far East can keep Japan sewed up while we and England get on with the big job.

Tesuque P. O., N. M. OLIVER LA FARGE

SIR: I am unable to answer your question with a simple yes or no. According to my view, World War II really consists of two wars—the one a continuation of the old imperialist power struggle, the other a struggle of suppressed peoples and enslaved social classes against the totalitarian imperialists. The latter struggle is only beginning. The war started as the first kind of struggle, and, as an imperialist power struggle, has apparently been lost by Britain. I am against participation in this kind of war. I am, however, for the second kind of war. If America's entry into the war would mean a resumption or revival of the first kind of war, then I am against it. If, however, it should mean participation in and support of the second kind of war, then I am for it.

New York City GUENTER REIMANN

SIR: As a gage manufacturer I know very well that the country is not equipped to fight, and I do not believe that a declaration of war would step up our production. You cannot hasten the building of a machine by waving a flag over it; neither do you help your mechanics by getting in their way. The "serious lag" in our war effort of which you speak does not exist; what the charts really show are the differences between the optimistic estimates of the front office and the production capacity of the plant. It might be well to speak softly while we prepare our stick.

I am in favor of all possible aid to Britain; my concern is over how pitifully little we shall be able to give for another two years. This country, for all its size and grandiose conceptions of its strength, must face, in making the final decision, not only the moral and diplomatic aspects of the problem but the large fact that it is still unprepared for more than verbal and economic action.

Watertown, Mass. W. G. VAN KEUREN

SIR: I am opposed to a declaration of war against Germany or the Axis so long as we can contribute our maximum aid to Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union without interference. Of course, when Hitler finds our help decisive he may follow the precedent of 1917, which the German people remember as disastrous. As Churchill said the other day, the issue of war or peace with the United States is in his hands. Let's leave it there. The initiative on his part will unite the American people and divide the Germans, already shocked by his challenge to their other great fear, a war with Russia.

A declaration of war at present without a definite *casus belli* would bring what might easily amount to an undeclared civil war in the United States. It would bring into force all the oppressive laws passed in the First World War, and lead to the persecution of individuals by government and private enemies of which we had sufficient experience at that time.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

SIR: Because I believe the Axis powers must be defeated in military combat before we can again work toward the establishment of a more equitable social order, and because I believe the Axis cannot be defeated unless the United States throws its entire resources—men and machines—into the struggle, I favor an immediate declaration of war.

I wish to stress the necessity of an *immediate* declaration. Although it will require long months to train our armies, both industrial and military, and to provide them with the machines of production and destruction, a national declaration of our firm resolve to destroy Hitlerism will be the war's major blitzkrieg on the all-important propaganda front. And, as one who for several years has lived intimately with propaganda, I respect its power no less than that of panzer divisions.

An immediate declaration of war by the United States will give new hope to Europe's conquered peoples; it will give strength to those nations which may be tempted to capitulate without a struggle; it will give new courage to tired Englishmen; it will solidify our own will to remain free. But what is more important, a declaration of war will remind the German people that an American Expeditionary Force, implemented by the world's greatest industrial machine, turned victory into defeat only a generation ago.

Yes, we must declare war. But we must not be deceived into thinking that a victory over the armies of the Axis will result, *per se*, in the best of all possible worlds. An Axis defeat will simply give us the opportunity to work again toward political democracy, economic security and international coöperation.

New York City ROY TOZIER

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SIR: I am of the opinion that it does not much matter whether we declare war on Germany, Italy and Japan just so long as we begin fighting with them. Since I have been in favor of world-wide war against Nazi Germany since 1933, when Hitler first formally seized power, and since I have been opposed to all forms of totalitarianism ever since they have arisen in the contemporary world, I want the United States physically to fight. I think this is of the utmost importance because I do not think that we shall be in real earnest about our physical opposition to Hitlerism and other forms of fascism until we are actually striving and suffering materially and physically in our effort to destroy them. At present we are engaged in war games and defense games instead of in war and defense. And I do not think that the efficiency of Axis oppression can be destroyed without our physical aid. Concerning the terms of the peace I cannot worry at the moment, for I have too much to worry about concerning the progress of the war. I do not care nearly so much what the world is going to be like after this war—although I should naturally prefer a less obscene world than that which we have all lived through since the last peace—as I do care to help see to it that the present cancerous condition is removed by the most effective military-surgical operation.

I believe that the American people are ready for war, and that in the large majority they are in favor of war against Hitlerism whatever their opinions may be of the other belligerents. Whether we are formally to declare war or whether we are merely to shoot, is a question I think we can safely trust to the wisdom of the President of the United States and his advisers.

New York City M. R. WERNER

SIR: I believe that the United States should enter the war not on the "self-defense" plea but on the basis of collective police action, with the understanding that such international action is to be continued through world organization beginning with the Western Hemisphere, Great Britain, the USSR and China. (Note that inclusion of the Soviet Union differentiates this from Federal Union proposals.)

Such entry would require guarantees from the two great European powers, Britain and USSR, regarding collective police action as a basis for future peace, as well as some attempt to provide the Roosevelt "four points."

To enter the war with these guarantees would avoid the Wilson error of unconditional entry. To publicize the Roosevelt "four points" should give the impetus to popular war-resistance throughout Europe that the Wilson fourteen-point program afforded, last time, in Germany.

Woodside, N. Y. WILLSON WHITMAN

Our Readers Write

SIR: Commenting on B. P.'s letter, "For a Declaration of War" in your August 18 issue, I wish to say that I heartily agree with the writer of same. I have always felt that this was as much our war as it is England's, and I cannot understand how Americans can continue to ignore the danger we face by waiting until that imbecile Hitler has crushed all our friends. Surely we are not conceited enough to think that we can stand against the world dominated by a madman, and just as sure as God made little apples, that is what will happen if we continue to listen to the petty arguments of such little would-be Hitlers as Lindbergh, Wheeler and other ballyhoo artists who make up the America First outfit. Their game is so rank that it makes me ashamed to think of them as Americans, which, of course, they are in name only, as, judging from what they say, they haven't the slightest idea of what America stands for.

It is going to take a dictator to beat a dictator, and I would be very much in favor of giving our great President full dictatorial powers and if he thinks it is our duty to go to war, then he should be given the right to declare it. Any man who has done as much for his country as FDR has done can surely be trusted to do what is necessary when we are in danger. The sooner America wakes up and gets good and mad the sooner this agony of all the world is going to be over.

Missouri Valley, Ia. MRS. GEORGE P. TRUE

SIR: I heartily agree with B. P. for a declaration of war. It would bring peace quickly. Shame on us to let "Englishmen, Russians, Chinese and others fight and die in a war which everyone knows to be our own while we hide behind the accidental and temporary isolation of our geographical position." Well said.

Swanton, Vt. ABRAM L. BROWN

SIR: The United States should declare war on the Axis powers immediately. Vacillation with regard to action that is in line with the best interests of the country and the pronouncements of the President is already proving ruinous to our national and individual well-being. If we wait to find out whether this battle can be won without us, it will then be too late for effective action; the key positions will have been taken by our less slothful enemy. Nor is it possible while dodging the issue of fighting our own battles to focus the moral power which is necessary for organizing the productive capacities of the nation as an arsenal of democracy. The quickest way to end a war which already exists and one in which we are certain to become eventually involved, is for the United States with its potentially great power—natural, human and mechanical—to join the powerful British Empire in overpowering the common enemy. The argument that we are not yet ready has no validity. Britain was not ready in June, 1940, far from it; but the British Isles have not been invaded. Indeed Britain is in a better military position now than she was a year ago. Once war is actually declared the nation's capacity for defense will rapidly increase. The longer we delay such action the more crystallized the deadlock grows and the more difficult it is to break it.

The sooner we are all brought up squarely against the hard fact that we cannot enjoy the fruits of freedom without at the same time accepting the responsibilities that freedom entails, the more likely we are to become a genuinely free and unified people.

Washington, D. C. DOROTHY SELLS

SIR: The United States should not declare war.

1. For twenty years America refused to coöperate in establishing a world order to prevent Japanese, Italian and German aggression. I believed during all those years that our policy would contribute to the development of inevitable world chaos. The New Republic bears its share in the responsibility. The American policy of those years, however, must now be regarded as a historic decision, tragic in character.

2. American entrance into the war would result in the sacrifice of tens of thousands of American youth. Only the immediate possibility of direct invasion would justify war. That possibility does not now exist. We are able to maintain a rich and full existence with our own resources. I gladly accept the alternative of losing some luxuries if Nazi and Japanese expansion succeeds in spite of material aid to Great Britain, Russia and China. I gladly accept this sacrifice rather than send others to die for me. We possess the political maturity to continue building our own democracy regardless of the fate of other continents.

3. If we are led to war, I would call upon those elder statesmen, educators and publicists who bring it about to demonstrate moral integrity by offering their own lives at the sacrificial altar. They ask sacrifices akin to slavery. They ask those who have not yet lived to die.

Washington, D. C. DALE PONTIUS

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SIR: Certainly, the United States should enter the war and thus ensure the crushing defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism. What are we waiting for? We cannot expect to convert the Roosevelt-hating isolationists and defeatists, while the great majority of the people would undoubtedly follow the leadership of the President and his able non-partisan Cabinet. Hitler hates us and will fight us in a hundred ways if he ever gets a chance to do so. He stands for everything we despise and loathe. He is a moral monster and a political menace to decency. Duty, honor and interest alike demand that we now join the nations that are now opposing him, and save civilization from a savage and brutal reaction. Millions of Germans will thank us for ridding them of a regime that disgraces and humiliates them. The world cannot resume its slow advance toward a just and rational order while a mad and bloodthirsty guttersnipe, temporarily in command of a huge armed force, reduces continental Europe to slavery and threatens what still remains of the area of freedom and sanity. Every vestige of his crazy, obscene and intolerable regime must be smashed and buried.

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

SIR: I am twenty-six years of age and expect to be drafted, or enlist if necessary, in the near future. Hence, my opinion with respect to a declaration of war against the Axis should be most sincere.

I am fundamentally against any policy of destruction, and war is undoubtedly destructive. But we can no longer consider individualism in a society that is of necessity collectivist. That is, in our present-day world we must survive collectively or perish individually. There is no alternative. Thus, on this assumption we should realize that the welfare of our neighbors is our own and that the longer theirs is being threatened and destroyed the harder shall we have to work to protect ours from danger. In other words, by a policy of passiveness we only delay the attack and become the direct cause, therefore, of greater destruction of our economic and social resources.

If we should declare war immediately and participate actively in this worldwide conflict, victory would come sooner, more decisively and with less ill results both economically and socially.

I regret to see the apathy of the American people, which is a sign of political as well as of spiritual decadence.

Gustine, Calif. EDMUND DA SILVEIRA

SIR: Hitler's full, obvious purpose is rule or ruin—to disarm all victims and at gunpoint enslave them to German taskmasters. Japan joins him with an identical terroristic policy whose blight has spread west and south for ten years. Internally they are compelled and committed to continue their careers until either they are stopped by the only thing they understand, brute force, or until all who shrink from facing them are made their victims. They cannot stop so long as opposition to their ways exists anywhere.

When they shall have dominated all the old world, as they must do soon at their pace up to August 1, they will possess all the facilities and necessary slave-labor-power to make themselves masters of all the seas. South America then must be forced into their orbit and we will then stand alone on the planet earth while they make ready to close down upon us from east, west and south.

This may require ten or more years of preparation but none but fools could hope they would ignore our disapprovals, our antagonisms and our ways of life. Their ideals and ours cannot live together in peace in so small a world. One of the two must destroy the other. War cannot ultimately be evaded and every extension of their power relatively weakens us for the final struggle.

Los Angeles, Calif. FRED ELDER

SIR: When the Nazi monster rolled across Holland and threatened the very life of England, ancestral memories in the bloodstream, antedating all family tradition, shouted down my pacifist convictions. I was among the first who raged, "This thing will take the earth unless we fight and swiftly." Recently I have been sobering up.

Students of history, including our FDR, know that the losers of all wars are the poor. Therefore in the midst of the Churchill-Roosevelt declaration of commendable aims is tucked a moldy bit of bait: something about improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security for all. Had this pious intention been genuine, there would have been no need to schedule its working out for some far, uncertain heaven.

Our vast preparedness program offered an unprecedented opportunity for giving the underpaid and the unemployed a real stake in their own country. Had this been done, we could honestly shout, "This war is gloriously different! This war is worth fighting."

We passed our great opportunity by some months ago. Instead, profits and prices soar; wages, except those of the few specially skilled, are stationary; unemployment continues. There is little indication that the old pattern will be changed. Our crusade turns out, after all, to be just another chapter of the world's endless wars in which the rich wax richer and the poor become poorer.

DOROTHEA E. THAYER

Long Island City, N. Y.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Alexander L. Meyendorff writes from Ellis Island that he has been imprisoned there for two months—without books and for five weeks without outdoor exercise—on the charge that from 1938 to 1940 he was a member of the American Communist Party, a fact which he himself told the authorities in 1940 when he applied for voluntary removal proceedings. A White Russian who left Russia in 1921 at the age of eleven, Meyendorff (The Harvard Crimson refers to him as Baron) has been trying to get to Russia for five years but has been unable to get a visa. He has University of Chicago B.S. and M.S. degrees and has been working toward a Ph.D. at Harvard. "There are pro-Nazi White Russians in this country, but they are not molested," Mr. Meyendorff says. "The imprisonment for my Marxist beliefs affords me but one consolation—that through it I can prove to what extent, despite my former class, I am behind our present regime."

H. W. Bradley of Hopkins, South Carolina, concludes: "General King Lear woke up one morning with a bad humor and walked the tongues out of a lot of fun-loving American boys. Private Habinyak woke up in a bad humor on Independence Day and lost his independence for several years. The moral of this story would make good reading."

David Golden, president of the Screen Readers' Guild, tells us something about that interesting profession. These are the people who read stories and summarize them for the movie producers—and from the summaries, books and plays are often bought. Lillian Hellman, Cedric Belfrage, Budd Schulberg, Myron Brinig and James Farrell were all once screen readers. But apparently the pay gets less and less, and the speedup worse and worse. "Our records show full-length novels read and synopsized with ten to fourteen pages coverage for as low as $2—and the average wage around $5," Mr. Golden writes. The increasingly conservative majority of the NLRB ruled that piecework readers should not be included in the bargaining unit with the regularly employed readers. But the Guild feels that the pieceworkers will be used to club down rates of all readers. They expect a long hard fight.

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Books in Review

Personal Histories

HANS HABE is a young Hungarian novelist who lived in Vienna until he earned a distinguished place on Hitler's blacklist. At the beginning of this war, he left his new home in Switzerland to enlist in the French army, becoming a sergeant of scouts in the Twenty-first Regiment of Foreign Volunteers. This was composed of refugees from almost all the countries of Europe: Spanish republicans, German liberals, White Russians, Polish and Rumanian Jews, Greeks, Bulgars and men whose nationality was listed as "undetermined." They were given old rifles of various types—Habe carried a single-shot 1891 Remington—they were drilled in a desultory fashion by French officers, and finally they were sent marching to the front.

In "A Thousand Shall Fall," [1] Habe tells their story and his own. Not the least vivid impression he conveys is of the ineptitude, defeatism and, in a few cases, the downright treachery of the French commanders. South of Sedan, his regiment was told to retreat because the division on its right had given way; but meanwhile that division was being told the same story about the Foreign Volunteers. At Ste. Menehould, where they again halted the Germans, there was a bridge to the north of the town and another to the south. The northern bridge was left standing and was crossed by the German tanks; the southern bridge was destroyed on orders from divisional headquarters, so that the Volunteers had to escape by swimming the river, leaving their equipment and their wounded behind. It was after this battle that their colonel, a brave soldier, complained of having needlessly lost five hundred men. The brigade commander answered, "Five hundred Jews the less." The colonel was sent to the rear for his obstinacy in fighting the Germans.

During the final retreat, which carried the Foreign Volunteers almost to the Swiss border, Habe saw hundreds of officers fleeing in staff cars filled with loot. He heard of others who drew their revolvers and kept French planes from leaving the ground. He became convinced that this whole flight along clogged roads was only partly the result of incompetence and panic; partly it was a deliberate scheme to keep the soldiers marching toward the rear until they had abandoned all hope of resistance. Not once, after Ste. Menehould, was his regiment permitted to stand and face the enemy. Yet Habe does not believe that more than a very few of the French commanders were actually under German orders. Many were sincere and self-sacrificing patriots. Others betrayed their country—whatever they thought they were doing—but it was not because they loved Hitler. The truth was that they hated the Popular Front and were fighting a civil war against the French workers.

Among all the writers who have described the debacle in France, Habe has the most interesting story to tell. Moreover, his training as a novelist can be read on every page of the book, which incidentally had the luck to be well translated. Habe knows which details to choose and which episodes to set in relief; he has an almost perfect sense of timing. He also has a popular novelist's weakness for heightening his effects, but he manages to restrain it when describing the French defeat; here his chief purpose is to serve as a voice for all his nameless and voiceless comrades. This part of the book is altogether convincing. It is only later, when he escapes from a prison camp and lies hidden for a week in a brothel at Nancy where all the girls were heroines and the madam was almost a saint—only in this one passage does he seem to be writing fiction.

W. Somerset Maugham calls his new book "Strictly Personal"[1]; and he warns his readers to expect nothing that bears directly on the great historical events of the last two years. "I have thought that it might be interesting," he says, "to set down on paper before I forgot them the incidents, trifling in themselves, which seem to have changed the whole course of my life." Accordingly he tells us about his garden on Cap Ferrat, his thirteen servants, his dachshund Erda and the collection of pictures he left behind him when he fled from the Riviera on a dirty collier crowded with refugees. But he also tells us about the refugees and about his visits to the Maginot Line and the French munitions factories, so that trivialities and tragedies occur side by side in his story. One could have no complaint if they were really mixed, like currants and suet in a pudding. The trouble is that the trivialities belong to one world, the tragedies to another, and Maugham never succeeds in making clear the psychological connection between them.

But although the book is a failure even by the easy standards he has lately been setting himself, it does add to our store of knowledge about the causes of the French collapse. In the Maginot Line, he observed that the men seemed to wander about all day with nothing much to do. In the villages of southwestern France, he saw that the Alsatian refugees were cold and penniless. In one arms factory, he was advised not to talk to the workers because "the feeling was bad"; in another he heard the director saying that sixty of his men had been sent to prison for sabotage or Communist propaganda. He noted that although tanks were being made in great numbers, many of them were never delivered to the front; they were kept near the factories for possible use—against whom but the workers? Much that he says confirms Hans Habe's theory that the French were fighting a civil war, like the Spanish, and that the conservatives were less afraid of the German army than they were of their own people.

Thomas Kernan is an American business man who knows a great many French aristocrats and politicians; he even has a good word to say for Pierre Laval. He used to publish the widely read French edition of Vogue, and he hoped to continue it during the German occupation; but after six months he became discouraged. No one could col-

[1] A Thousand Shall Fall, by Hans Habe. Translated by Norbert Guterman. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 442 pages. $3.

[1] Strictly Personal, by W. Somerset Maugham. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 271 pages. $2.50.

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laborate with the Germans except on their own terms, and these included the complete control or complete destruction of every profitable business enterprise in France. Having learned this, Kernan came home to tell his story.

"France on Berlin Time"[1] is not well written or very astute in its observations—except on business matters—but it contains a great deal of information about German plans in action and a great deal of enlightening gossip about the politicians of the Third Republic. Once more it confirms what Habe said about the civil war in France, but it also tells the outcome of the struggle. The Reds were tricked and defeated by the Blacks, but the Blacks have followed them into serfdom. The French business men who thought that Hitler was better than Léon Blum, that at least he would protect their property and keep the working class in order, are now losing their property to Hitler. France itself is not to be erased from the map, as Poland was; but it is already being deprived of its heavy industries, and in the future it will be used by the Germans as a source of luxuries and a scene of amusement—"half a kitchen garden and half a brothel," as General von Turner is reported to have said. First, of course, the Germans would have to consolidate their victory. If they are defeated—and this is a prophecy implied but not stated by all three of these personal historians—the civil war in France will be resumed. This time it will lead to another and even bloodier conclusion.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Dream and Project

Poems: 1930-1940, by Horace Gregory. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 173 pages. $2.50.
The Listening Landscape, by Marya Zaturenska. New York: The Macmillan Company. 87 pages. $1.75.

THE POEMS of Horace Gregory and Marya Zaturenska are curiously and suggestively complementary; read alternately, they sound almost like lection and response: the dark answers the bright, the formal answers the casual, the static and stubborn answers the fluid and compliant. Man and woman, form and substance—it is a kind of dance; and it is interesting to see how, as they dance, the man tends at moments to become like the woman, or the woman like the man, yet without ever quite succeeding. Just as the change seems imminent, each resumes his own character.

If one were to say that Mr. Gregory's poetic climate is, on the whole, one of "project," and Miss Zaturenska's one of "dream," it would therefore be with the proviso that the climates overlap, and sometimes almost to the point of eclipse. Mr. Gregory is a stubborn formalist. His project is before him and he sticks to it; he foresees and numbers the details that must be attended to in its careful execution, and like a good general he always has a firm thumb on the map. This makes, let us admit it, for a certain rigidity. It is a little as if the resultant poetry were too much done to formula. The right ingredients are there—imagination, tenderness, humor, irony, the pathos of distance, the pathos of the contemporary-ephemeral, the convenient stairway that always leads from the finite to the infinite—but one has the feeling that Mr. Gregory has somehow got them there by a clever and cultivated sort of sleight-of-mind, a trained and studious dexterity. This is going to be—one can hear him saying—a poetry of juxtapositions, it is the modern medley, *mélange adultère*, but you'll see, we'll get some poetry out of it too, and he proceeds, thus consciously, to produce a really excellent mixture. Excellent, yes, and poetic too; but nevertheless with something left out. Is there too much project, too little projection? For it is as if the work-in-progress *were* work-in-progress—that and that only, as if the work were too closely, and always, tethered to an immediate experience, or stimulus, and involved a too immediate use of the immediate. The item of experience or stimulus is put to work at once, before it can have been poetically digested or transmuted; and hence we have a kind of poetic reporting, restless and quick, a nervous need to get things down while they are still fresh and torn, with the blood still in them; to get them down not *quite* regardless of the how, but with a semblance of quick form—Skelton comes in handy, or the ellipses of Crane and Pound. And what is left out in this process, efficient and even brilliant as it can be, is that almost indispensable thing, the ruminant-reflective poetic *laze*.

And can we say that poetry is, among many other things, an essentially lazy art, the laziest? Lazy and indifferent and wholly instinctive in its slow accumulation of the necessary data, like any good animal or vegetable, though to be sure fiercely energetic enough when the moment comes for the final restatement. But one suspects that without that slow and lazy accumulation, and above all that almost vegetable *waiting*, the requisite fierceness and pressure will be lacking (when the moment comes for restatement) and with it both projection and form. A *quick* form is there, of course, and that kind of objectivity which we call matter-of-fact, topical, reportorial; the kind of objectivity which remains closely tethered to its origin and is the better for being so tethered. But this is not the true projection of poetry at its best, it is not the essentially poetic method, and indeed it could be argued that it is the exact opposite of the poetic. Though again, one should add that it is a method which the truly poetic can include or embrace. It is only necessary to point out how masterly Eliot can be in his use of the topical, but always as part of a larger and inclusive arc.

In the more recent of Mr. Gregory's poems there appears to be a definite shift toward the poetic "laze," as if he were in the process of exchanging, partially, the climate of project for the climate of dream; and this work is the better for it. If he could go a little farther, without going so far as Miss Zaturenska, he might become a very fine poet indeed; for although less successful than Miss Zaturenska, he is somehow more persistently interesting.

Why this should be so, in the light of Miss Zaturenska's obvious brilliance, it is difficult to say. For Miss Zaturenska, in her curious floral dream-world, with its baroque *décor*, and its pale Tiepolo sun-and-cloud-lit sky, *is* brilliant, there can be no mistake about that. Her sense of picture is almost impeccable; she has—what is rare enough in these days—her own highly characteristic, if not mannered, use of words (witness her strings of nouns) and she instinctively knows how to keep her dream-allegories vivid and direct, lest the sheer descriptiveness weigh them down. Of such lyrics as "The Descent of the Vulture," "The White Dress," "Face at the Window," "The Lovers," and espe-

[1] France on Berlin Time, by Thomas Kernan. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 312 pages. $2.75.

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cially "Lightning for Atmosphere," one feels, to begin with, that there can be little but praise; the judgment of tone is almost perfect, each of the pictures seems harmonically pure. And yet, as one rereads them, and reads them in the surrounding matrix of the other poems, one ends by feeling a vague dissatisfaction. The elements in this are several—the material and texture of the poems are too much the same, and one grows tired of the careful bland sensuousness, the milky pallors and golds, and indeed the whole brocade picturesqueness, skillful as one sees them to be. It is all a little scented, and one craves fresh air. But perhaps these are only the symptoms of the failure. And the failure of these poems, when they do fail—as they often do *at the end*—is a failure of energy. The efflorescence can go just so far, the exfoliation of light and color *conducts itself*, as if automatically, parthenogenetically, just so far—but then, at the point where the organic is required, whether to restore pattern, or to achieve dynamics, or to resolve the logic, there is often instead a kind of flutter or flurry of the merely sensuous and decorative. There is no logical stopping-point to the dream-work, or the process of association, and therefore no logical stopping-point to the poem; except for fatigue, they could all go on forever. Clearly, what Miss Zaturenska needs is a little more censor, if one may borrow the Freudian term; just as clearly as that Mr. Gregory needs a little more dream.

CONRAD AIKEN

Escape

We Escaped. Edited with an introduction by William Allan Neilson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 265 pages. $2.

THIS BOOK, which contains the personal stories of a dozen refugees, is far more than merely another presentation of Nazi brutality and human endurance. We find that the twelve men and women who tell simply and almost too modestly their stories of medieval suffering and incredible courage represent the fate and the plight of thousands of others. Here are the narratives of a German professor who fought Hitlerism long before the Nazis came into power; of a Spanish worker who was active in the labor movement before Spain was declared a republic, and a mayor during the civil war; of a Dutch reserve officer who fought in the front lines against the Germans; of a Catholic writer from southern Germany who wrote against fascism first in his own country and later in France. Here are the stories of Czecho-Slovakians, Austrians, Norwegians; of peasants, intellectuals, business men, all of them not only believing in democracy, but each one knowing from experience the true, cruel meaning of fascism.

It takes no more than common sense to recognize the importance of the refugees to these United States. Yet, as William Allan Neilson stresses in his introduction, little has been done to ease our immigration laws, but scores of new restrictions have been introduced into Congress. Nazi propaganda has helped to sustain the myth that the exiles have aggravated the problem of unemployment by taking jobs away from native Americans. The fact that the refugees have created more jobs than they can fill has received little publicity. Nor has it been emphasized sufficiently that "the net increase of our population from immigration since the flight from tyranny began is a fraction of one percent."

We have sent food to unoccupied France while thousands of prisoners are kept in French concentration camps. Their suffering is described grippingly in this book by a German-Jewish farmer who was interned in a camp near Paris after the outbreak of the war. Having been a prisoner in Sachsenhausen the farmer was familiar with concentration camps, and laconically he writes about the French camp that everything was just as bad as in Germany, "except for the beating to death."

MARIANNE HAUSER

World War I

Bird of the Wilderness, by Vincent Sheean. New York: Random House. 322 pages. $2.50.

MR. SHEEAN'S LITERARY CAREER, paralleling his political development, has been consistently two-sided. On the one hand he is a progressive realist, on the other a liberal romantic. Vigorous, honest and beautifully wrought books such as "Personal History" and "Not Peace but a Sword" are the creations of a sensitive journalist with the journalist's love of actuality. But novels such as "Sanfelice," concerned with Nelson and Emma Hamilton, and "A Day of Battle," based upon the Battle of Fontenoy—such curiously insignificant novels are the result of spiritual flights from a bitter present to a more palatable past. So it is noteworthy that his present theme is the trials of a young man in a Midwestern town during the hysterical months preceding the United States' entry into the First World War.

It is a familiar battle-of-the-village story in which Bill Owen, high-school senior, is hemmed in by the folkways and mores of Parkerton, Illinois. A new English teacher becomes interested in him and sets out to widen his interests and clear his mind of Parkerton upholstery. They engage in long talks, usually in her boarding-house parlor, and gradually fall in love. Both realize their love is in vain because of the difference in their ages. It is all platonic, but the town is scandalized and the principal delivers an ultimatum to the teacher: either she or Owen must leave town.

It is Owen who leaves, and gladly; he has been aching to enlist in the army. The atmosphere of strife engendered by the Hughes, or pro-war, and the Wilson, or pacifist, factions, as described by Mr. Sheean, has a contemporary flavor, with the clear difference that in those days young men were pro-war, regarding war as an adventure, whereas today they are cynical and confused.

In spite of its apparent honesty and Mr. Sheean's warm touch, the novel falls far short of its blood-brother, the rich and moving first chapter of "Personal History" called "American Gothic." The incidents, characters and dialogue are not particularly significant, the treatment is often unilluminating and the style, as in the lengthy first chapter, is frequently expository rather than dramatic. The sledgehammer revelation at the close of the novel, about which the publishers have predicted endless talk, is more likely to produce derogation than praise.

Yet "Bird of the Wilderness" is an advance over Mr. Sheean's bloodless former novels, for here both theme and material are native to the author. But that is about as much as can be said for it. Mr. Sheean has still to write a life-breathing novel worthy of himself.

CHARLES NEIDER

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Christian Soldier

Crusader in Crinoline: The Story of Harriet Beecher Stowe, by Forrest Wilson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 706 pages. $3.75.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE was born in 1811 and died in 1896. A full history of her life—and Forrest Wilson's "Crusader in Crinoline" is a full history, the fullest by all odds that has yet been written—implies a long commentary on an American century now so dead that it seems pre-historic. Mrs. Stowe was one of its outstanding features and those who like to probe our magnificent past should read Mr. Wilson's interesting and conscientious work.

Mr. Wilson lives in Connecticut, not far from the picturesque hill-town where Mrs. Stowe was born, and where she lived to the age of fifteen. Litchfield may have stimulated his passion for his subject, but it did not limit it. He has examined the different atmospheres and environments in which Mrs. Stowe's militant life was passed, from Connecticut to the Ohio, from Maine to Florida, with indefatigable attention. He has visited all the archives where her traces are stored.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was one of the last and greatest expressions of the Puritan tradition in America. She belonged to a family founded, appropriately, by a woman, a widow and midwife, named Hannah Beecher. The line had already become famous through Mrs. Stowe's father, Lyman Beecher, before she was born. Lyman Beecher was a preacher and all of his sons, seven in number, were preachers. Calvin Ellis Stowe, Mrs. Stowe's husband, whom she nicknamed "the Rabbi," was a professor of Theology and the author of a standard work on the history of the Bible. It goes without saying that Harriet Beecher Stowe was religious. All her writings, carefully followed up by Mr. Wilson and amounting to an incredibly large output, reflected the moral aims and purposes of a reforming author. The more "advanced" suffragists of her day jeered at Mrs. Stowe's "little sermons." But her great sermons were much more than that: they were novels that expressed the American mind of her century, still the extension of the mind of New England.

Like her father, Harriet Beecher Stowe was a miracle of energy. But she passed through her schooling, a very good one for a girl, without making any special mark for herself. Her writing began early with a most creditable play. No one recognized this, however, and her more academically successful sister, Catharine Beecher, thought she was wasting her time. After her marriage, Harriet began to write, she said, for money; for no matter how much came into the Stowe coffers there was never quite enough, and up to the time she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," she and her children were well acquainted with poverty. But the money she earned, even that brought in by the most spirit-breaking hack work, was only a small part of her incentive. It was her destiny to write. As she approached the end of her years, with all their experiences of wifehood, motherhood and worldwide fame, she helped to write her own biography. With the last line of the book, she ceased to live, lingering on only as a physical, mindless shell.

Mr. Wilson's book is especially valuable for its study of the background not only of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but of Mrs. Stowe's other novels. It recreates in detail the broad historical scene with which her life and writings were fundamentally connected. In portraying her character and weighing her career, Mr. Wilson achieves great convincingness; with one noteworthy exception, however. He seems to overstate the damage done to her reputation by her "Lady Byron Vindicated." This literary indiscretion was not a great "disaster for her career," nor did it constitute a serious break in her fame, as the author at one point in his book seems to believe. Even his own chapters on her subsequent life do not bear out this thesis. In America Mrs. Stowe lost almost nothing by the episode, whatever may have happened in England. The whole thing was a literary tempest in a teapot, while Mrs. Stowe herself was human history.

KATHARINE ANTHONY

Cotton Tenantry

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, by James Agee and Walker Evans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 487 pages. $3.50.

AGEE AND EVANS went "down" into the lives of three white tenant families, indicative of cotton tenantry at large, watched them, studied them, became them (at infrequent moments), and made a book. It is easier to say what the book isn't than what it is. It is not straight reporting or a naturalistic account or a documentation or a narrative impression. Its immediate aim is to tell the untellable conditions of living in a section of the richest country in the world. Agee's method is not simple; many techniques are employed—photographs, poetry, "items," listings, orations, dramatic episodes, self-analysis, a kind of stream of consciousness, footnotes, the direct appeal to the reader—most of them suggesting the difficulties and the almost insurmountable ethical concerns the writer experienced in his relations with these men and women and children. It is a heterogeneous book. It is an appeal for a continuous *tension* and it is a propaganda intended to corrode our habitual acceptances. It is a book about Mr. Agee. It is a book that refuses to call itself a book.

Now Mr. Agee does a good deal to antagonize the reader. There are too many tongues, too many attitudes, too many awarenesses on the subjective side (perhaps defenses would be more precise); even the sincerity is too much, too prostrate. And yet, visible through all this, are some unmistakable virtues: Mr. Agee, at times, writes brilliantly (the episode "Near a Church" is as fine a piece of prose and honesty as one can find in American literature); he is extraordinarily sensitive and aware and, above all, concerned with that deeper honesty that assembles before itself all those minute rationalizations and nuances of feeling that are always a kind of havoc inside ourselves.

Innumerable problems are raised with regard to method, communication, art, etc. These people are real, Mr. Agee insists, these people are *alive*. And yet it is the work itself that should make them so and not an *a-priori* statement. "These words are quoted to mislead those who will be misled by them." What on earth for? Is this really looking at the object before you or is it a "crankiness" on the author's side? And Mr. Agee makes you feel that nobody before him

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has so perceived the terrified Negro, has felt so sensitively about him. This may be true, but there is something of the martyr in it that need not have been suggested. And in the end it is Agee himself who emerges the protagonist, rather than the Gudgers or the Ricketts or the Woods. Is this, then, a failure? Mr. Agee's theory would declare it so and yet Mr. Agee's practice recognizes the interrelationships between subject and object, between Agee and the Gudgers.

Which brings us into the problem of the photograph. Here there is, by the very nature of the medium, a more possible identification. The shutter has no prejudices. But when Mr. Evans brings you face to face with the woman who is biting her hand there is an impulse to reject Mr. Agee's belief that the camera's function is "to perceive simply the cruel radiance of what is." There is a fine and complicated sensibility at work in that photograph.

Whatever the case, whether attracted or repelled, whether for or against, it is a rich, many-eyed book and ought to be looked into.

HARVEY BREIT

Naval History

Sea Power in the Machine Age, by Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. 474 pages. $3.75.

MR. BRODIE sets out to examine the effect of the nineteenth and early-twentieth-century technological revolutions in naval material—the steam warship, the iron-hulled warship, iron armor and great ordnance, torpedoes, mines, submarines and aircraft—upon the tactics and strategy of sea warfare and the resulting "power balance between individual states." What Dr. Baxter has already done for one phase of the industrial revolution in sea power, the introduction of iron armor, Brodie does for the whole field, though, naturally, not on the same scale. The result is a work of the first importance, stimulating and based on a vast amount of thoroughly digested material.

Most readers will find the last chapters, on the role of the submarine and aircraft since 1914, the most interesting and suggestive in the book—above all, the sound conclusions on the air power versus sea power controversy. In general, Brodie concludes, the great naval inventions, excepting the submarine, strengthened the ability of the superior fleet to dominate the naval theatre of war. "With enhanced reconnaissance and mobility, it was able to bring superior force to bear at any threatened point with far greater dispatch than before. The fleet unwilling or unable to meet the enemy in battle was deterred from attempting to range the seas by the knowledge that it ran a much greater risk of being quickly brought to action." The airplane "leaped over the blockade as the submarine dived under it. But it has also lent itself, much more than the submarine, to utilization by the superior fleet in exercising a more complete control of communications at sea."

The reviewer cannot accept Brodie's underestimation of the political repercussions of the dreadnaught. "Much of the course of diplomacy in the immediate pre-World War period is written in terms of the dreadnaught, which is supposed to have rendered pre-dreadnaught types of little or no use—as though those types suffered a sudden extinction of firing power and mobility." True, the pre-dreadnaughts did not lose their whole value and did play an honorable part in World War I; but the introduction of the dreadnaught type certainly altered the equation of maritime power after 1905, for it was dreadnaught strength which shaped the naval rivalries of the pre-1914 decade. Brodie, it seems to me, is not fair to Jellicoe and his handling of the Grand Fleet at Jutland, though such criticism is fashionable today. Jellicoe's side of the medal is scarcely suggested. That useful corrective, Admiral Bacon's "Jellicoe," Brodie does not seem to have used. The destruction of the three British battle cruisers at Jutland was not due to their thin armor. They were lost, according to the best evidence, by the charges in the gun-house becoming ignited through a bursting shell and the penetration of the flash to the magazine. It was the packing of the charges which was at fault.

The discussion of some topics, as when the author deals with steam tactics and strategy and the technicalities of ballistics, will not be followed easily by the uninitiated. However, Brodie's conclusions are always clearly stated and will be readily grasped by anyone with a modicum of intelligence. Personally, I liked the book very much, profited immensely from reading it, and feel certain that it will take its place as a standard work by the side of such classic studies as the works of Baxter and the Sprouts. The author is a Carnegie Fellow and a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

ARTHUR J. MARDER

Contributors

ALBERT VITON was formerly The Nation's Near East correspondent. His most recent book is "Britain: An Empire in Transition."

RICARDO SAAVEDRA is the pseudonym of a former officer in the Spanish Loyalist army.

HENRY TREECE is a young Welsh poet whose poems have appeared both in England and in the United States.

CONRAD AIKEN's latest book is a sonnet sequence, "And in the Human Heart."

CHARLES NEIDER is a native of Odessa. He is now living in New York City and working on a novel.

KATHERINE ANTHONY's books include biographies of Catherine the Great and Queen Elizabeth.

MARIANNE HAUSER was born in Alsace-Lorraine. She is a frequent contributor to The New Republic.

HARVEY BREIT has contributed to Poetry, Twice-a-Year and New Directions. The Capricorn Press will soon publish a book of his poems, "There Falls Tom Fool."

ARTHUR J. MARDER, a Guggenheim Fellow for 1941-42, is the author of "The Anatomy of British Sea Power."

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The New Republic Book Department reviews the most interesting and most important new books. It calls attention to many which deserve the attention of intelligent readers but are overlooked by most book columns. Among its contributors are such writers as Malcolm Cowley, George Soule, Robert Morss Lovett, Van Wyck Brooks, Conrad Aiken, Fletcher Pratt, W. H. Auden, John Chamberlain, Louis Fischer and Vincent Sheean.

Coming in an early issue of The New Republic is a lively article by Charles Edward Smith, HONKY TONKS AND HOT MUSIC, an account of the early days of instrumental jazz and pianistic ragtime, in St. Louis, New Orleans and elsewhere. Students of the subject will find material in it never before published.

Also coming is an article by Dr. W. Horsley Gantt, of Johns Hopkins University, one of the leading physiologists in the Pavlov school and Pavlov's translator—DEVELOPMENTS AFTER PAVLOV. It demonstrates that quantitative, mathematical relationships have been found to exist between an emotional stimulus and an organic response—scientific news of great importance.

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An Appeal to the American People

ALMOST unnoticed during the past decade one of the great currents in the modern history of mankind has been set in motion. The United States of America has become a gigantic "City of Refuge" for that elite of European peoples who, because of their unrelenting opposition to the tenets of Nazi-fascism, are exiles from their native lands.

¶ This honor roll of exiles has on its roster great artists, writers, scientists and political thinkers of every European nationality, all informed in the spirit of the Western European democratic tradition. Among them are the renowned names of Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Albert Einstein, Count Carlo Sforza, Maurice Maeterlinck, Sigrid Undset, Jacques Maritain, Franz Werfel, Josef Wittlin, Ferenc Molnar and Fernando de los Rios. Ignace Paderewski lies buried here, as was his wish, among free men.

¶ With the crumbling of the last great Continental bastion of democratic freedom upon the fall of France, the pace of this historic current has quickened. This catastrophe impelled many who had held fast to the soil of Europe in the hope that the tide of Nazi-fascism could be stemmed short of the Atlantic, to seek safety in America. Pitifully few have found their way to these shores—they are numbered in hundreds. But these few represent the seed from which must germinate a democratic Europe upon the overthrow of totalitarianism.

¶ America's role in this world catastrophe is clear. It is already the declared policy of our government to mobilize our great industrial strength as the "Arsenal of Democracy." But it must also be our high aim to make possible the renascence of a democratic Europe after the war by giving shelter to all those men and women who have pledged their very lives in this struggle against the new barbarism. Our industrial strength will help to win the war; such a victory may be barren unless a complementary policy of succor to those who have fought freedom's battle enables mankind to win the peace for democracy.

¶ To implement this essential policy, we appeal for the utmost support of the work of the Emergency Rescue Committee which has taken the lead in rendering aid to these gifted and heroic exiles. This is a work in the great tradition of American democracy and in the interest of progressive mankind throughout the world. We feel that the American people, who have given historic proof of their fellowship with all peoples who struggled to gain for themselves and their children the benefits of democracy, will respond generously to this appeal.

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Fund Raising Campaign Expenses	22,425.80
Administrative and General Expenses	9,730.39
Total Disbursements	$212,859.39
Balance, June 30, 1941	$ 3,137.03

FRANK KINGDON, *Chairman*
EMERGENCY RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.
122 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

☐ I enclose $350 to make possible the rescue of one man or woman.

☐ I enclose $..... toward your final $100,000 Rescue Fund.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

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